

Second Edition

The Emperor Julian

Panegyric and Polemic

Edited by
SAMUEL N.C. LIEU



Liverpool
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Volume 2

Second Edition

The Emperor Julian Panegyric and Polemic

Claudius Mamertinus
John Chrysostom
Ephrem the Syrian

Edited by
SAMUEL N.C. LIEU

Liverpool
University
Press



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FOREWORD

The brief reign of Julian (Dec., 361 - June, 363) is one of the most controversial and best documented chapters of Late Roman history. His celebrated attempt to revive traditional Roman religion and classical, especially Greek, culture against the prevailing tide of inexorable Christianization won him both ardent supporters and dedicated enemies among contemporary men of letters. Since almost all our abundant source-material covering the reign is of a partisan nature, it behoves the modern scholar to achieve a balance in his coverage of the primary evidence and to examine as much of it as possible. The present collection containing a Latin panegyric by a supporter of Julian delivered early in the reign, a long excerpt from a Greek polemical treatise by a famous church leader and a collection of four Syriac hymns vilifying the recently deceased emperor, is compiled so as to extend the range of material available in translation to the undergraduate taking courses in Late Roman history. However it is also hoped that the introductions and commentaries will be of help to those beginning their research in this fascinating period. Although the three texts cover events which span the entire reign of Julian and are chronologically arranged according to the main events they describe, the collection itself is not intended to be a documentary history of the reign. The introductions centre solely on the immediate background events covered by the texts and no attempt has been made to provide a coherent narrative or overall view of the reign. The famous 'School Law' of the Emperor, for instance, is only mentioned in passing as it is not touched upon by the translated texts. In view of the many excellent biographies of Julian now available, I see no need to give yet another account of his early life. The main events from his birth up to his becoming sole emperor are therefore given in the form of a chronology for ease of reference. (All dates given in this book are A.D. unless otherwise stated.)

This book is a corporate effort and my first thanks therefore must go to my collaborators, Mrs. Marna Morgan, formerly part-time tutor in Classical Languages in the Joint School of Classics at the University of Warwick and my wife, Dr. Judith Lieu, 'New Blood' Lecturer in Judaism and Christian Origins at King's College, London. Without their help the work would never have been started. I am grateful to Prof. J. K. Davies for launching the present series which, I believe, will fill a major gap in the armoury of Ancient History teaching at universities and for inviting me to publish this collection in it. I would also like to thank him and his Liverpool colleague Mr. Robin Seager for their painstaking revision of the first two translations. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Charlotte Roueché of King's College, London and Dr. Sebastian Brock of Oxford University for the trouble they took to check and revise the translations of Chrysostom and Ephrem. Several friends and colleagues have rendered much useful help and advice and among them I would like to thank Mr. Charles Morgan, Mrs.

Sheila Vince, Mr. Michael Dodgeon, Mr. James Jordan, Dr. Christopher Lightfoot, Dr. C. E. V. Nixon and Dr. J. F. Matthews. My 'Maistor', Prof. Robert Browning, has been a constant source of warm friendship and judicious advice over the last decade and I could only hope that this present collection will be a suitable companion to his well-received and much admired biography of Julian.

Finally, I would like to record my thanks to the Nuffield Foundation for financial help towards the research needed for the third part of the book and to Warwick University for a grant towards the production of the final typescript and a generous subvention towards the cost of publishing. I owe much to the skill and dedication of Mrs. Kay Rainsley who did most of the actual word-processing and also to the vigilance of Mrs. Christa Mee, General Secretary to the Series, in proof-reading. Much of my own share of the work was carried out at the Library of the Institute of Classical Studies and Dr. Williams Library, both in London. The unfailing courtesy and helpfulness of the staff of these two libraries cannot go unmentioned.

Samuel N.C.Lieu
Joint School of Classics,
University of Warwick,
June, 1985.

FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION

The occasion of a reprint gives me an opportunity to correct and augment certain parts of this book as well as update the bibliography and 'upgrade' the typography. I am grateful to several reviewers of the First Edition, especially Robert Browning (*Classical Review*, N. S. 37, 1987, 303-4), Michael Lennon (*Classicum* 14, 1988, 16-20) and G. Fatouros (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 81, 1988, 51-52), for their suggestions for improvement - some of which I have incorporated into my revision. I would like to thank the British Academy for a research grant towards my project on the *Artemii passio* as a source for fourth century history which has led to the addition of a third appendix to Part II. I am grateful to the generous help which I have received from Michael Dodgeon, Jeffrey Hilton, Christa Mee and my wife, Judith Lieu, in the preparation of this new edition.

S. N. C. L.
April, 1989.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY LIFE OF JULIAN

332 (May?) Flavius Claudius Julianus, the son of Julius Constantius and Basilina, was born in Constantinople. (Cf. Amm. XXII,9,2, Lib., *or.* XVIII,8-9 etc.)

332/3 Death of Basilina. (Cf. Jul., *misop.* 22, 352B.)

337 (22 May) Death of Constantine the Great. (Cf. Eus., v. *Const.* IV,61, Lib., *or.* LIX,72-75, etc.)

337 (Sept.) Julian and his half-brother Gallus were the sole survivors of a massacre by the soldiers of the male descendants of Flavius Valerius Constantius (Chlorus) and his second wife Theodora which was probably instigated by Constantius II. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 270C/D, Eunap., *vit. soph.* VII,1,6, Lib., *or.* XVIII,10 and 30, Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,21. Zos. II,40,1-3 etc.)

c. 337 - c. 342 Julian was placed in the care of his mother's family at Nicomedia and was educated under the direction of Eusebius, the Arian bishop of the city. (Cf. Amm. XXII,9,4 and Soz., *h. e.* V,2.)

337 or 338 Nisibis was besieged by Shapur II for two months. (Cf. Hieron., *chron.*, s. a. 338, Thdt., *hist. rel.* I,11-12, Thphn., *chron.* A. M. 5829 etc.)

339 Eusebius became Bishop of Constantinople and Julian probably went to the capital with him. (Cf. Soc., *h. e.* II,7, Soz., *h. e.* II,4,3 and Thdt., *h. e.* I,19,2.)

c. 339 Julian was placed in the care of Mardonius, a eunuch and a former teacher of his mother. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 274D, idem, *misop.* 20-22, 351A-352 and idem, *ELF* 4,427B/D, Lib., *or.* XVIII,11 etc.)

341/2 Gallus and Julian were sent to live on the imperial estate at Macellum in Cappadocia. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 271B/C, Soz., *h. e.* V,2,9-10, Amm. XV,2,7 and Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,22-29.)

344 (or 343) or 348 Both Romans and Persians suffered heavy casualties at the Battle of Singara. (Cf. Lib., *or.* LIX,100-17, Julian, *or.* I,23A-26B and Festus, *brev.* 27.)

346 Nisibis was besieged for a second time by Shapur II, the siege lasted for two months. (Cf. Hieron., *chron.*, s. a. 346 and Thphn., *chron.* A. M. 5838.)

347 Gallus was summoned to court and Julian returned to Constantinople. There Julian attended the classes of the grammarian Nicocles and the sophist Hecebolius. (Cf. Lib., *or.* XV,27 and XVIII,12, Jul., *misop.* 353B and Soc., *h. e.* III,1,9-11.) He was sent back to Nicomedia with Hecebolius and was forbidden to attend the lectures of Libanius. (Cf. Lib., *orr.* XIII,10-11 and XVIII,13-15 and Soc., *h. e.* III,1,13-16.)

350 Usurpation of Magnentius and death of Constans. (Cf. Jul., *orr.* I,26B-D and II,55C/D and Zos. II,42,3-5.)

350 Nisibis was besieged for a third time. (Cf. Jul., *orr.* I,26B-D and II,62A-67A, Ephr., *CNis.* I-III, *Chron. Pasch.*, *s. a.* 350, p. 536,18-539,3, Zon. XIII,7,1-14, etc.)

351 (March) Gallus was made Caesar by Constantius. (Cf. Amm. XIV,1,1 and Zos. II,55,3.)

c. 351 Julian made contact with pagan philosophers and theurgists at Ephesus. (Cf. Eunap., *v. soph.* VII,1,5-2,13.)

351 (28 Sept.) Magnentius was defeated by Constantius at Mursa. (Cf. Jul., *orr.* I,35D-37A and II,57B-60B, Zos. II,49-50 and Zon. XIII,8,5-18.)

353 (Aug.) Death of Magnentius. (Cf. Eutr. X,12,2, Jul., *or.* I,40B etc.)

354 Gallus was dismissed and executed. (Cf. Amm. XIV,11,19-23, Lib., *or.* XVIII,24, Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 270D-271A, Zos. II,55,1-2 and *Art. pass.* 14-15.)

354-55 Julian began to correspond with Themistius (cf. Jul., *ep. ad Them.* 259D) and probably also with Libanius (cf. Lib., *ep.* 369,4).

355 Revolt of Silvanus. (Cf. Amm. XV,5.)

(May) Julian was granted permission to study in Athens. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 273D and 275A, idem, *or.* III,118C-119D, Lib., *or.* XVIII,27-31, Greg. Naz., *or.* V,23-24 etc.)

(Oct.) Julian was summoned to the imperial court at Milan and was proclaimed Caesar on 6 Nov. He married Helena, the emperor's sister, at about the same time. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 274A-277D, Lib., *or.* XVIII,31-39, Amm. XV,8, Zos. III,1-2, etc.)

(1 Dec.) Julian was sent to Gaul with a small escort and wintered in Vienne. (Cf. Amm. XV,8,18-19, Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 277D-8A, Lib., *or.* XVIII,42-44 etc.)

356 (1 Jan.) Julian received his insignia as consul. (Cf. Amm. XVI,1,1.)

(Summer) Julian's first campaign in Gaul (mainly against the Alamanni). He held a council at Autun on 24 June. He won a victory near Rheims, recovered Cologne and wintered at Sens where he was besieged for a month. (Cf. Amm. XVI,2-4, Lib., *or.* XVIII,48 etc.)

(Winter) Julian composed his first panegyric on Constantius (*or.* I) which was brought to the Emperor at Milan by his chamberlain Eutherius who defended Julian against the charges of insubordination. (Cf. Amm. XVI,7,2-3.) The panegyric on Eusebia (*or.* III = *or.* II, ed. Bidez) was probably written in the same winter.

357 (April) Constantius visited Rome. (Cf. Amm. XVI,10,9-17.)

(June) Constantius was compelled by barbarian incursions to leave Rome for Sirmium. (Cf. Amm. XVI,10,20-21.)

(Summer) Julian's second campaign in Gaul. He was victorious at the Battle of Strasbourg (25 Aug.) and captured Chnodomarius, the king of the Alamanni. After the victory he crossed the Rhine at Mayence and repaired the defences along the river. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 278B-D, Lib., *or.* XVIII,49-74 and Amm. XVI,11,1-XVII,3,6.)

358 (Jan.) Julian wintered at Paris where he probably composed his second panegyric on Constantius (*or.* II = *or.* III, ed. Bidez).

(Summer) Julian's third campaign in Gaul, victories over the Salian Franks and the Chamavi. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 280A/B, Lib., *or.* XVIII,75, Eunap., *frag.* 10 and Amm. XVII,8,1-10,10.)

(24 Aug.) Nicomedia was destroyed by an earthquake. (Cf. Lib., *ep.* 35,2, *idem*, *or.* LXI, and Amm. XVII,7,1-8 etc.)

(Summer) Constantius granted peace to the Sarmatae and the Quadi, subdued the Limigantes and arranged the affairs of Illyricum. (Cf. Amm. XVII,12-13.)

(Autumn) Fruitless negotiations with the Persians. (Cf. Lib., *ep.* 331, Amm. XVII,14 etc.)

(Winter) Salutius, sent as adviser to Julian, was recalled through the jealousy of Constantius. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 281D and 282C, idem, *ELF* 14,385D, Lib., *orr.* XII,58, XVIII,85-86, Zos. III,5,3-4.)

359 (Spring) Shapur II entered Mesopotamia (Cf. Amm. XVIII,7 ff.)

(Spring) Julian's fourth campaign in Gaul. He repaired the walls of the fortresses along the Rhine, and laid waste to the hostile parts of Alamannia and arranged for regular shipments of corn from Britain. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 279D, Lib., *or.* XVIII,82-83 and Amm. XVIII,2,3-9.)

(Oct.) Amida fell to Shapur after a siege of 73 days. (Cf. Amm. XVIII,9-XIX,8.)

(Winter) Julian in Paris and Constantius in Constantinople. (Cf. Amm. XX,1,1 and 8,1.)

360 (Jan.) Julian sent Lupicinus to Britain to resist the inroads of Picts and Scots. (Cf. Amm. XX,1,2-3.)

(Jan./Feb.) Death of the Empress Eusebia. (Cf. Amm. XXI,6,4.)

(Feb.) Julian was proclaimed Augustus by the troops who refused to be transferred to the Eastern Frontier. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 282B-D, Lib., *orr.* XII,58-61 and XVIII,90-102, Amm. XX,4,1-3, Zos. III,8,3-9,2, Zon. XIII,10,11-16 etc.)

(Spring) Death of Helena. (Cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII,179, Amm. XXI,1,5 and Zon. XIII,11,2.)

(End of Feb.) Pentadius and Eutherius were sent as envoys of Julian to Constantius. (Cf. Amm. XX,8,19.)

(End of Feb.) Shapur captured Singara and Bezabde. (Cf. Amm. XX,6-7 and *AMS* II, p. 316.)

(March) Constantius learned of Julian's usurpation and left Constantinople for Caesarea Mazaca. (Cf. Amm. XX,9,1.)

(April) He met Julian's envoys in Caesarea and despatched his own envoy Leonas with his reply to Julian. (Cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII,126, Amm. XX,9,1-8 and Zon. XIII,10,23-28.)

(May) Constantius returned to Mesopotamia and tried to recapture Bezabde. (Cf. Amm. XX,11,4-32.)

(May/June) Shapur was repulsed at Virtha. (Cf. Amm. XX,7,17-18.)

(June-Aug.) Julian's campaign against the Attuarian Franks. (Cf. Amm. XX,10.)

(End of Oct.) Julian in Vienne where he celebrated the *quinquennalia* of his first coming to power as Caesar and assumed the diadem. (Cf. Amm. XXI,1,1-4.)

(Dec.) Constantius wintered at Antioch. (Cf. Amm. XX,11,32.)

361 (6 Jan.) Julian celebrated the Feast of Epiphany at Vienne. (Cf. Amm. XXI,2,4-5, Zos. III,9,5-6 and Zon. XIII,11,5-6.)

(End of Feb.) Julian forestalled an attack on his army by arresting Vadomarius, the king of the Alamanni, at a banquet. (Cf. Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 286A, Lib., *orr.* XII,62, XIII,35 and XVIII,107-108 and 113, Mamertinus, *grat. act.* 6,1-2, Amm. XXI,3 etc.)

(Mid April) Julian addressed his troops at Augusta Rauricorum in which he made clear his decision to defend his new status by force. (Cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII,109-110, Amm. XXI,5,2-8.)

(Mid May) Julian reached Sirmium by river. (Cf. *grat. act.* 7-9. Lib., *or.* XVIII,111-112, Amm. XXI,8,2-9,8 etc.)

(End of May) The Succi Pass was occupied by Julian's forces. (Cf. Amm. XXI,10,1-2.)

(Mid June) Julian at Naissus and Constantius left Edessa for the West. (Cf. Amm. XXI,10,5 and 13,1 and 10.)

(End of June) Aquileia was occupied by troops loyal to Constantius and was besieged within a month by Julian's forces. (Cf. Amm. XXI,11,1-3 and Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,48.)

(End of Oct.) Constantius left Antioch to confront Julian. (Cf. Amm. XXI,15,2.)

(3 Nov.) Constantius died at Mopsucrena. (Cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII, 117, Amm. XXI,15,2-3 etc.)

I. FROM CAESAR TO AUGUSTUS

A speech of thanks to
the Emperor Julian given by

CLAUDIUS MAMERTINUS

(on the occasion of his elevation to the Consulate)

(1 Jan., 362)

Latin Panegyric XI (3)

*(Claudii Mamertini gratiarum actio
de consulato suo Iuliano Imp.)*

translated by

Marna M. Morgan

with notes and introduction by

Samuel N. C. Lieu

INTRODUCTION

(1) Historical Background

On Nov. 3, 361, Flavius Julius Constantius, who had been sole Augustus of the Roman Empire since 350, died after a short and painful illness at Mopsucrena in Cilicia at the foot of Mt. Taurus. He was on his return journey to Constantinople after a heart-breaking visit to the Eastern Frontier where he had failed to regain the territories recently lost to the Persian King Shapur II. His death removed from the Empire the threat of impending civil war between him and his cousin and junior partner, Flavius Claudius Julianus, better known to posterity as Julian the Apostate. The latter had assumed the title of Augustus in Paris the previous winter and had moved the cream of his fighting troops from Gaul to Illyricum. Sirmium, Constantius' main stronghold to the Danube, had been seized without a fight. With the Succi Pass in the control of one of his trusted commanders, Julian wintered at Naissus, secure in the knowledge that his passage to Constantinople via Thrace would be virtually unopposed. From his winter quarters he wrote to the senate of Rome against Constantius and to the chief Greek cities to justify his apparent aggressive action. The garrison at Sirmium which had been taken captive by surprise was duly despatched to Gaul by Julian. On their way they seized Aquileia in N. Italy and declared their loyalty for Constantius. They found little support apart from the townsfolk who were fearful of the vengeful nature of Constantius, and the city was soon besieged by troops loyal to Julian (Amm. XXI,9-12 and Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,48,6-10, ed. Bernardi, p. 150; cf. Kaegi, 1967, 247-9 and Kurmann, 1988, 169-170). Although Constantius could not treat Julian in the same manner as usurpers like Magnentius and Vetricianus because Julian was his cousin and whom he had personally appointed Caesar, there was little doubt that war between the two was imminent. The Empire was haunted once more by the spectre of the horrifying battles of the civil wars of the 350s, a threat which was averted only by Constantius' sudden demise.

Julian entered the new capital of the Roman Empire on Dec. 11, 361 to the acclaim of her Senate and citizens. The historian, Ammianus, though absent in Armenia, missed little of the spirit of optimism which characterized the occasion in his depiction of Julian's *adventus*:

"For it seemed to them (i.e. the onlookers) almost like a dream that a young man, in the flower of his age, slight in stature but famous for great exploits, after many victories over (barbarian) kings and nations, having passed from city to city with unparalleled speed, increasing his wealth and power wherever he went, and having taken possession of everything with ease like rumour, had now finally received imperial power by divine will without any injury to the state." (Amm. XXII,2,5)

One might expect the new Emperor who had been spared the horrors of prolonged civil war by the timely death of his rival would exercise

clemency towards the latter's supporters. However, the army was in a vindictive mood. The units which had followed Julian from the West were angry with the manner in which their needs and achievements were ignored by the court, while those from the East, thoroughly humiliated by the recent losses, blamed the same officials for inadequate support. In addition, Julian himself was determined to do something drastic to end the prevailing corruption which had done so much to tarnish the image of the court. He therefore gave Saturninus Secundus Salutius, the newly appointed Praetorian Prefect of the East and a man renowned for incorruptibility, the presidency of a special commission to investigate allegations of misconduct against some key members of Constantius' court. Secundus was assisted by a panel of six members, two civilian officials and four military commanders (Amm. XXII,3,1-2). The commission held its inquiries at Chalcedon and Julian himself took no part in its proceedings although he had acquired a considerable reputation by then as a fair judge (*Suidas*, s.v. 'Ioulianos', ed. Adler, ii, p. 643,7-20 = Eunap., *frag.* 16, *FHG* IV, p. 21 = ed. Blockley 25, p. 36).

The trials were completed before the end of the year. Excessive haste inevitably led to some ill-considered verdicts by the commission which were later regretted, though the death sentence passed on the notorious Court Chamberlain Eusebius was undoubtedly popular. However, even as strong an admirer of Julian as the historian Ammianus felt that Justice herself seemed to have mourned over the fate which befell Ursulus, the Count of the Sacred Largesse. He was unpopular with the troops because he had recently made a disparaging remark before Constantius, when they inspected the ruins of Amida in Lesser Armenia, to the effect that the courage of the city's former defenders was not commensurate with their pay. When convicted, he accused Julian of ingratitude; for when Julian was first sent to Gaul in 355 with a small force and little money, Ursulus had ordered the *praepositus thesaurorum* of Gaul to meet all his demands (Amm. XXII,3,7-9 and Lib., *or.*, XVIII,152). Julian fully realized that the life of Ursulus was the price he had to pay to placate the embittered forces of Constantius, and he had to win their loyalty in order to renew the conflict with the Sassanians for the hegemony of Mesopotamia.

(2) The Consul Claudius Mamertinus

As the year 361 drew to an end, Julian appointed as consuls for the new year Claudius Mamertinus and Flavius Nevitta, both of whom had sat on the commission at Chalcedon. The consuls of the previous year, Taurus and Florentius, were both condemned at Chalcedon. While the former was exiled to Vercellae, the latter escaped death by going into hiding (Amm. XXII,3,4 and 6). Claudius Mamertinus, the *consul prior* designate, was a civilian from a distinguished Gallo-Roman family, while Nevitta, the *consul posterior*, was Julian's Master of Cavalry and was of Frankish or German

descent. On New Year's day, 362, the new consuls arrived at the palace to pay their official call to the Emperor and, instead of being ushered into his presence as was the customary practice, they were met personally by the Emperor who made his way to them through a throng of courtiers. He kissed them and offered them his right hand as a pledge of loyalty (*grat. act.* 28,3-4). Then, to show that he was making a definite break with established tradition, he accompanied them on foot to the Senate House instead of summoning the senators to the palace. This gesture of Julian had a mixed effect on the spectators. Some commended him for the respect he showed to the Senate - a body which had been studiously ignored or avoided by most recent emperors. Some found his action demeaning and affected. Later the same day, Julian would prove the sceptics right by showing how unnatural it was for an autocratic ruler to give the Senate and its consuls their full rights and privileges. At the games given by Mamertinus, Julian usurped the rights of his *consul prior* by pronouncing the formula for the manumission of some slaves. After he was reminded that the jurisdiction of that day belonged to another person, he promptly fined himself ten pounds of gold as guilty of an oversight (Amm. XXII,7,2).

Earlier in the day, Julian had heard a speech in his honour given by the new Consul Claudius Mamertinus. In the same collection of Latin panegyrics in which this address is preserved, we find two earlier works by a Claudius Mamertinus, both addressed to the Emperor Maximian. The first was recited at Trier on 21 April, 289 (*XII pan. Lat.* 2, ed. Galletier) and the second, probably also at Trier in 291, perhaps on 21 July in celebration of the Emperor's birthday (*ibid.*, 3, ed. Galletier, cf. Nixon, 1983, 89-93). The author of these two earlier addresses could not have been the same Claudius Mamertinus who was *consul prior* of 362, but he could have been the father of the latter. The younger Mamertinus was a relatively unknown civilian prior to the events in Paris in 361 which led to Julian's proclamation as emperor by his troops. He was appointed first as Count of the Sacred Largesse prior to Julian's final departure from Gaul although the post was in theory still held by Ursulus who was with Constantius in the East (Amm. XXI,8,1 and *grat. act.* 1,4 ff.). He came into prominence after the siege of Aquileia towards the end of the same year or at the beginning of 362. As mentioned before, Aquileia was the only city in Julian's rear which had caused him trouble during his march to Constantinople because it was seized by troops loyal to Constantius on their way to Gaul after they had been surprised by Julian at Sirmium. The city beat back repeated attacks by picked troops of Julian and only surrendered on hearing the news of Constantius' sudden death at Mopsucrena. Mamertinus was put in charge of the investigation into the cause of the rebellion and he carried out the task with vigour. The ring-leader of the rebellion, a cavalry commander from Mesopotamia called Nigrinus, was burnt alive and two of the local senators

of the city were executed for the support they had given to the rebels (Amm. XI,12,25 and XXII,3,1).

Mamertinus was already an old man when Julian came to power (*grat. act.* 17,2 and 18,5). His meteoric rise to the pinnacle of the senatorial career must have come to him as a surprise. Julian might have appointed him as a sign of favour to the established senatorial aristocracy, but his personal merits must have played some part in the appointment since he was a provincial and not a member of the great noble families of the City of Rome. His prefectural powers were later extended to cover not only Illyricum but also Italy and Africa. In this capacity he undertook a reform of the public postal service (*cursus publicus*) (*CIL* V, 8987 = Dessau 755, cf. Arce, 1984, 104, no. 38 and 128-132 and Ensslin, 1923, 132-40). Also, while Julian was away in Persia, he confirmed the arrangement by which the city of Puteoli in Italy had to give neighbouring Tarracina 5,700 modii of wheat, for the latter had to receive a food subsidy from other Italian cities to enable her to provide wood for the baths at Rome and lime for making mortar to repair walls (Symmachus, *rel.* 40,3-5, ed. and trans. Barrow). He remained in office as Praetorian Prefect under Jovian and when Valens and Valentinian first came to power in 364. However, as a former *protégé* of Julian, he could not expect to continue for long in high office under the Christian emperors. In 365 (wrongly dated by Ammianus as 367), on his return to Constantinople from Rome to which he had gone to correct certain abuses, he was accused of embezzlement by Claudius Avitianus, the Vicar of Africa. On being found guilty he was replaced as Prefect by Vulcatius Rufinus (Amm. XXVII,7,1). Given his old age when he first came to political prominence, we may justifiably surmise that he did not survive his disgrace for long (cf. *PLRE*, i, 540-41).

(3) The New Year Panegyric of Mamertinus and its historical value

The political career of Claudius Mamertinus, then, was distinguished but brief. "He appears to us", as Thompson (1947, 75) rightly remarks, "a more considerable figure than he did to his contemporaries, but this is simply because of the speech which he delivered when entering on the consulship of 1 January, 362 ... and had his speech been lost we should hear and know practically nothing about him." (*ibid.*). The text of this New Year address to the Senate in Constantinople has come down to us in a collection of similar addresses commonly called *XII Panegyrici Latini*. The dozen addresses it contains begin with the famous panegyric of Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan, delivered in A. D. 100 on the occasion of the author's suffect consulship, which clearly served as a literary model for such laudatory compositions. The earliest of the remaining eleven addresses can be dated to 289, the latest to 389. The occasions of their composition and delivery were varied: a royal marriage (VI/7), a victory (VII/6, IX/12 and

XII/2), the foundation day of a city (II/10), the anniversary of an accession (IV/8 and VIII/5) and Quinquennalia (X/4) etc., but the choice of these occasions was traditional and follows guidelines laid down in rhetorical manuals. Their style is also traditional and as a literary genre they reflect the classicizing taste of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy (cf. Warmington, 1974, 372-3, Browning, 1983, 757-8 and Nixon, 1983, 89). Mamertinus, as shown by his panegyric, was steeped in the literature of the Ciceronian period and was also familiar with minor Latin authors of the Early Empire such as Valerius Maximus. He alone among the panegyrists in the collection other than Pliny made significant use of words which are seldom found outside Latin poetry (cf. Gutzwiller, 1942, 240). As examples of royal encomia, the eleven Latin panegyrics in the collection are paralleled in Greek by the orations of Eusebius on Constantine, those of Libanius on Constantius and Julian, and of Themistius on the same emperors - the one on Julian however, has not survived (cf. Dagron, 1968, 224-225) - and their immediate successors. Julian himself wrote two panegyrics to celebrate the achievements of Constantius and one in honour of the Empress Eusebia. In Latin, the tradition of imperial panegyrics was continued by writers such as Symmachus, Ausonius and (in verse) Claudian.

The main theme of the twelve prose panegyrics is praise of the rulers for the traditional virtues which they had displayed in war, in government and in their devotion to the gods (or God) as well as their general good fortune (*felicitas*). The panegyrists of the Late Empire were mostly professional rhetoricians and their tendency to adhere closely to these time-hallowed themes and modes of adulation which were prescribed by rhetorical manuals, gives rise to a considerable similarity in style and arrangement in the panegyrics. "Our skilful orators", as Nixon (1983, 90) sums it up neatly, "are for the most part unruffled by delicate political matters or abrupt imperial tergiversations, they respond with the gamut of familiar techniques - rationalization, explication, exculpation, gloss, silence or what have you: their conventions see them through." The panegyrics served not only as celebrations of the sovereign's achievements but also as a convenient means to legitimize his rule and publicize his policies. When collected together as a school corpus, they helped to mould the political attitudes of the Gallo-Roman elite, the very people who could be expected to seek careers in public service (ibid., 96-97).

Since Mamertinus' own political career was inextricably bound to the new emperor who had promoted him three times in one year (22,2), and since as a panegyrist he was not under oath to tell nothing but the truth, his New Year address poses special problems to us as a historical source. Too often it has been used as a quarry for nuggets of facts on the early part of Julian's reign. As such it yields disappointingly little that is not found elsewhere save for a more detailed, though highly stylized, description of his

voyage down the Danube, a few scattered details on his attempt to revitalize the Greek cities and a eulogistic account of his dealings with the Senate at the new capital. A more positive approach is to accept the address as a document of its time, composed in the full flush of Julian's recent victories and for a particular purpose, and not as a historical work undertaken after long deliberations on Julian's merits and vices. On the other hand, it would be wrong to dismiss the panegyric of Mamertinus as purely a literary composition which relies solely on well-worn themes and customary *topoi* for effect and content. Mamertinus had personally known Julian since the latter first came to Gaul and had accompanied the new emperor on his journey to Constantinople which he describes in the panegyric (6,2 ff.). He would have had first hand knowledge of the momentous events in Paris in 360 which brought Julian into direct conflict with Constantius. Writing at a time when the new reign had not entirely emerged from the mists of controversy, Mamertinus was therefore an invaluable witness to the war of words between the supporters of the last two scions of the House of Constantine.

The New Year panegyric of Mamertinus is divided into two almost equal parts. The first is a public celebration of Julian's achievements, the second, more personal in tone, is a thanksgiving for the author's elevation to the consulship. However, the first part of the address (1-14) is surprisingly apologetic in tone for its intended purpose. Mamertinus follows contemporary rhetorical convention in beginning the eulogy by praising the city of the emperor's birth, i. e. Constantinople (2,3) (cf. Men. Rh. II, 369.17-370.8 ed. and trans. Russell and Wilson). However, he then diverges from the normal convention by saying nothing about Julian's upbringing and education. Julian had given his own account of his life up to the time of his break with Constantius in a letter written from Naissus in 361 which was sent to a number of major cities, the version to the Senate and Demos of Athens being the one which has come down to us. Mamertinus might therefore have felt that there was no need to go over familiar ground. Moreover he did not dwell on Julian's considerable military achievements on the Rhine which is another departure from tradition as depiction of the emperor's courage in battle and the enumeration of victories are the *sine qua non* of such speeches (cf. Men. Rh. II, 372.12-375.4). The four years of hard campaigning in Gaul (357-61) were compressed into one major battle (4,3) by which Mamertinus must have meant the Battle of Strasbourg (Argentoratum) in 357 - a significant victory for an untried commander against the war-like Alamanni. Julian himself, on the other hand, faithfully observed this particular literary convention in his panegyrics on Constantius and turned into major personal achievements of the Emperor the minor military activities on the Eastern frontier such as the indecisive night action near Singara (344 or 348) which resulted in heavy casualties to both sides and the third siege of Nisibis by the Persians (350) which was conducted in

the absence of Constantius (see above, pp. ix-x). This deliberate understatement of Julian's exploits might have been a rhetorical device to highlight the ease with which the Emperor settled the military problems in Gaul. Or, it might simply reflect the civilian background of the author. It is equally probable that Mamertinus was anxious to avoid reminding the troops once loyal to Constantius that they have had little to celebrate in the field since their pyrrhic victory at Singara more than twelve years before.

However briefly mentioned, Julian's military achievements in Gaul did provide Mamertinus with an important lead in to the main theme of the first part of his speech, namely the defence against the allegation that Julian was a usurper who gained sole power not by right but by the untimely demise of Constantius. In this respect, Mamertinus interestingly differs in his justification of the usurpation from the main pro-Julian sources of the period, Ammianus and Libanius, and also from Julian himself (Amm. XX,4,12-22 and 8,7-10, Lib., *or.* XVIII,95-105 and Jul., *ep. ad Ath.* 284A-286D, 11-12, pp. 231-234 ed. Bidez. See also Eunap., *frag.* 14,5, *FHG* IV, p. 20 = 21,3 ed. Blockley). Instead of placing the blame for the mutiny at Paris solely on the elements of the Rhine army which had refused to be transferred to the Eastern frontier, Mamertinus decided to leave out all references to the events of that fateful night. As MacCormack (1975, 128) rightly reminds us, "the panegyrics themselves, when describing imperial actions, described them as orderly and planned, and often as having splendour and beauty. This also was a sign of legitimate rule. Chaos and disorder, on the other hand, were accompaniments to the rule of a usurper. This emerges very well in Ammianus's description of the usurpation of Procopius in 365 (Amm. XXVI,6,11-19). Procopius was acclaimed by a disorderly group of soldiers - and not very many of them - he was hustled to the palace, and the whole scene bears the imprint of hasty, ill-prepared and surreptitious action. The acclamation of Julian as Augustus, on the other hand, in fact probably no less chaotic, was described by Ammianus in such a way as to convey the divine and human consent which were betokened by ceremonies carried out with dignity and in the prescribed order." Mamertinus was silent on the events in Paris most probably because he knew that the actual facts did not lend themselves to encomium and that outright fabrications would not have helped the cause of Julian (cf. Gutzwiller, 1942, 84-5).

Coming from a family with a proven record for its service to the emperors through oratorical skills, Mamertinus was too well trained in his art to have to resort to flagrant inventions to argue the case for Julian. Like all seasoned propagandists, his technique was to present one side of the picture while taking care to support it with factual statements which are verifiable and impressions which could not easily be denied. He depicted the events which led to Julian's arrival at Constantinople as an extension of his

praiseworthy endeavours in Gaul. Julian's initial success had instilled fears into the hearts of rapacious officials who had feathered their own nests by provincial misgovernment. They consequently heaped false praises on Julian before Constantius until the latter was so stung by jealousy that he made a secret pact with the barbarians to attack Julian (4,4-6,1). Should Julian relax his great work for the Empire simply to dissipate the envy of his cousin and allow the cities to suffer the depredations of the barbarians? Of course not - Julian was too responsible a ruler and too astute a politician to see his people and himself suffer unjustly. In citing the story of the Etruscan youth Spurrina who disfigured himself with wounds to avoid untoward attention from women as an example of political suicide, Mamertinus was more than merely hinting at an active role played by Julian in the events leading to his proclamation as emperor by his troops (5,3). As Blockley (1972b, 441) has rightly observed: "There was a lapse of time between Julian's usurpation and his invasion of Constantius' territory, during which negotiations took place. By ignoring the act of usurpation Mamertinus can suppress this interval and imply that Julian was finally aroused to action by Constantius' incitement of the barbarians to attack him (a move which is noted by other pro-Julian sources, but which is usually placed after the usurpation)."

Mamertinus was all too aware of the truth of the accusation that Julian's sudden march to Sirmium was an act of usurpation aimed at seizing the military advantage over Constantius. He tried therefore to deflect the charge by making a moral comparison between Julian and two recent usurpers, Nepotianus and Silvanus, who, according to him, led lives of dissipation and wantonness characteristic of tyrants - the double meaning of the word *tyrannus* (i. e. tyrant and usurper) readily lends itself to his argument (13,3). Far from being a usurper (i. e. tyrant), Julian was the saviour of the Empire as evidenced by his own personal merits and by the improvements he was able to bring to the hard pressed cities within a short space of time (7,1-10,3). Above all Julian was a better candidate for supreme power than Constantius. The profligacy of the latter's court was well known and so was Julian's frugality (11,2-12,3). The fact that Constantius himself was also noted for his ascetic lifestyle which accounted for his robust health received no mention (Amm. XXI,16,5 and Zon. XIII,11,13). Constantius was a remote figure who gave undue prominence to his courtiers and eunuchs (19,4-5). Julian, by contrast, was easy-going and courteous (24,1-28,5). As we have noted, his excessive civility was sometimes taken for condescension or popularity-seeking. A further proof of Julian's legitimacy to rule was his deference to the Senate - a body which had been shunned by Constantius (24,1-7, see also comm. *ad loc.*). Mamertinus saw his own consulship as part of the new orderly arrangement inaugurated by Julian the ideal prince, and therefore looked askance at the

more dubious vote-catching devices employed by aspiring politicians of the Republican period (19,1-20,5).

Julian's abrupt and secretive move to the East was therefore seen by the panegyrist as an integral part of the Caesar's campaign against the Germans - a view espoused by Julian himself (cf. *ep. ad Ath.* 286D-287A, 13.2-10, ed. Bidez). Mamertinus depicted the Danubian voyage as one long imperial procession, an *adventus* intended solely for the benefit of the cities which Julian visited on the way (7,2-3). As for those who asserted that Julian could not have achieved so much in such a short space of time and without additional resources, Mamertinus countered their scepticism by his celebration of Julian's infinite capacity for work and his economy (8,1-14,6). He reminded his listeners of the manner in which Julian had revitalized the cities of the Empire out of his own pocket and his simple life-style. However, he might have strained the credulity of some when he praised Julian for allowing a corn-fleet from Africa to reach Constantinople which was then not in his control. The fleet had been marshalled by a general of Constantius who intended it for Rome but was forced to divert it because of Julian's movements, and he was later executed by the new emperor (12,4-6, cf. *comm. ad loc.*). Needless to say, the panegyric drops not the slightest hint of the Chalcedon trials and the negative public reaction to some of the verdicts of the commission.

Mamertinus was naturally sensitive to criticisms levelled against Julian because he saw the dignity of his own office of consul as dependent on the quality of the emperor who conferred it on him (15,3-5). The eulogy on Julian was also that of the panegyrist and his sensitivity to criticism is immensely valuable because it hints to the historian that beneath the air of optimism which greeted the accession of Julian there was considerable unease about the means by which he had come to supreme power. Nevertheless, Mamertinus' characterization of Julian was no more idealized or heroic than that of later pagan writers like Ammianus and Libanius (cf. Blockley, 1972b, 437-45). Julian undoubtedly brought new hopes and aspirations to an Empire which was torn by religious controversy, bled by rapacious officials and humiliated by the Sassanians. His decision to prosecute some of the more unpopular ministers of Constantius immediately must have pleased many. His urbanity and his simple life-style would have also won him admirers from all sectors of Roman society. The Christians were not yet despondent since Julian, though an avowed pagan, had so far adhered strictly to his declared policy of religious toleration. The panegyric of Mamertinus reflects this in making virtually no reference to matters of religion except for the author's gratitude to the new emperor for the revival of philosophy (i. e. pagan learning) and astrology (23,4-5). This aversion to elaborate on religious matters also casts a veil over his own religious alignment. One may surmise that he was a pagan as Julian was unlikely to

have appointed a Christian to high office. However, even if he was a pagan, Mamertinus was not an outspoken champion of the old religion like Libanius and his adulation of Julian as expressed in his panegyric is focused entirely on his qualities as a statesman, qualities which were grudgingly admired by some of the later opponents of his religious policy such as Gregory of Nazianzus (*or.* IV, 75.1-5, ed. Bernardi, p. 192, cf. Kurmann, 1988, 255-256) and Socrates the Church historian (*h. e.* III, 1, 44-54, ed. Hussey). It is indeed fortunate for Mamertinus that the main problems of the reign, occasioned largely by Julian's religious policy, were yet to come.

(4) Editions etc.

The following translation of the New Year panegyric of Mamertinus is based on the text established by E. Galletier in his highly acclaimed Budé edition of the *XII Panegyrici Latini* (*Panégryriques Latins*, Tome III (XI-XII), Paris, 1975, pp. 16-44). Gutzwiller (1942) contains a full introduction and very detailed commentary as well as a critical text and German translation of the panegyric. My debt to this work, especially in compiling the notes, is substantial and one which is impossible to acknowledge in full. There is also an Oxford Classical Text of the twelve panegyrics edited by Sir Roger Mynors (Oxford, 1964). Students unfamiliar with the different editions of the panegyrics should note that in the edition of Galletier, the panegyrics are chronologically arranged and therefore differently numbered from those of Mynors and the Teubner text of W. A. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1911) which follow the traditional order. For those interested in the panegyrics as examples of Late Roman literature, the standard discussion remains R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris, 1906). Also important are L. K. Born, 'The Perfect Prince according to the Latin Panegyrists', *American Journal of Philology*, LV (1934) 20-35, W. S. MacGuinness, 'Some methods of the Latin panegyrists', *Hermathena*, XLVII (1932) 42-61, idem, 'Locutions and formulae of Latin panegyrists', *ibid.*, XLVIII (1933) 117-38, MacCormack (1975), Nixon (1983) and Seager (1983). On the panegyric of Mamertinus in particular see especially Blockley (1972b). A recent work of some importance on the *XII pan. Lat.* is the published dissertation of Portmann (1988) on historical themes in both Greek and Latin panegyrics of the Late Antiquity. It includes a short section devoted to the *grat. act.* of Mamertinus (pp. 42-45).

TRANSLATION

1 Although I realise that you, Emperor, and all those who participate in your council must be surprised to see me here at last embarking on my speech of thanks, as though your kindnesses towards me began with this consulate, nevertheless, I must admit that, conscious of a lack of talent which I regret,¹ I should prefer even now to remain silent and confine my overflowing joy at this award to a pleasurable and private appreciation. 2. But since either my deficiency or my good judgment has yielded to the favours which you have accumulated and lavished upon my person alone, and since I am reduced to the unavoidable necessity of earning a reputation either for ineloquence or ingratitude, I have preferred to be found lacking in eloquence rather than in gratitude towards you or in my sense of duty. 3. And to tell the truth, in my eyes those honours with which you previously endowed me offered rather less incentive towards returning thanks. 4. For when you entrusted me with the administration of the public treasury,² when seeking a man impervious to corruption, unswayed by enmities, resolute in the face of envy, it was myself you chose as fulfilling these requirements, and that at a time when the provinces, drained partly by the depredations of the barbarians, partly by the ruinous no less than shameful extortions of their governors,³ themselves implored assistance from the emperor, at a time when the troops, often deceived in the past, were demanding immediate payment of cash, all these factors made me inclined to weigh the burden against the honour. 5. Again, when you nominated me Praetorian Prefect⁴ and confided to my loyalty and guardianship those provinces most deserving of recognition at your hands, you gave, in fact, a signal testimony to your favourable judgment: but in so doing you were clearly favouring not only me, whom you invested with such authority, but to some extent your own interests.

¹ A standard disclaimer. Cf. Cicero, *pro Arch.* 1, Lib., *or.* XIII, 3, Pacatus, *pan. Theodosio dictus* I, 1-2, and Jul., *or.* I,2 C/D (I,1.30-34, ed. Bidez, p. 11).

² On his appointment as *comes sacrarum largitionum* by J. in 361 see above, Introduction, p. 5.

³ On the barbarian invasions which took place at the time of J.'s elevation to Caesar see Amm. XV,8,1 (Alamanni), XVI,16,20 and XVII, 12,1 (Quadi and Samartiae). See also Lib., *or.* XVIII,33-35 and Zos. III,1,1. Flavius Florentius, *PPO Galliarum* (PLRE, i, 365) who clashed with J. in 357/8 on the issue of additional taxes to be levied in Gaul, comes readily to mind as an example of one such rapacious and unscrupulous provincial official. Cf. Amm. XVII,3,2, Lib., *or.* XVII,84-85 and Jul., *ELF* 14,384D. See, however, Pack, 1986, 89-94, for a more balanced view of Florentius' conduct in the light of Late Roman fiscal policy.

⁴ The dioceses of Italia, Illyricum and Africa came under the jurisdiction of his Praetorian Prefecture.

2 When, on the other hand, you appointed me consul, without regard to your own advantage, you had in mind only the glory which that office would reflect on me. 2. For in administrative matters hard work and honour go hand in hand, but in the consulate honour is conferred painlessly. To congratulate oneself on being offered the former would seem the mark of an overweening ambition; not to give thanks manifestly and publicly on being awarded the latter would be the work of an ingrate. 3. Furthermore, this city of all cities and this most august temple of public counsel⁵ imposes the duty of this speech. This city, new in name but of such ancient dignity, is your fatherland:⁶ here you saw the light of day, here, like some star risen to bring blessings on the human race,⁷ you were born. 4. These citizens, these fellow countrymen of yours do not allow me to remain silent nor do they permit, on this most auspicious day,⁸ anyone to assume the honour of speaking before you and about you other than he who is invested with the highest magisterial office. 5. They consider that the title of consul adds a lustre to the splendour of the praises heaped upon you: and rightly so, for the high standing of the eulogist enhances the grandeur of the eulogy. 6. And so, all powerful Emperor, while I must indeed render my thanks to you, by popular decree and in the name of us all, nevertheless I shall, for the greater part, pass over your many great achievements accomplished both at home and abroad for the good of the State, so that I may arrive the sooner at the part of my speech which may properly be described as personal.

3 Shall I now proceed to recall, as though they were something new and previously unheard of, the reconquest, by means of your valour, of the Gallic provinces, the subjection of the whole barbarian race, when these triumphs have, in this part of the Roman Empire, been hailed as most deserving of glory by the laudatory voice of popular acclaim, to such an extent as to merit the envy of your cousin the Emperor?⁹ For what else

⁵ I. e. the Curia at the eastern end of the Forum Augusteum where Hagia Sophia would later be built. Cf. Procop., *aed.* I,ii,1.

⁶ J. was born in Constantinople in Jan., 331. Cf. Jul., *or.* I,10B, *misop.* 40,367C, ed. Lacombrade. See further references in Clinton, 1845, i, 386, *s. a.* 331.

⁷ The image of J. as a star is also found in Amm. XXI,10,2 ("health giving star") and XXII,9,14 ("a star which had come to lighten the East."). The use of the same image in both authors is so close that it has been taken as an indication of Ammianus's familiarity with the panegyric of M. Cf. MacCormack, 1975, p. 197, n. 70 and Gutzwiller, 1942, 190, 194 etc.

⁸ I. e. Jan. 1, 362. Cf. Amm. XXII,7,1. See also Clinton, 1845, i, p. 449.

⁹ Cf. Lib., *or.* XII,44: "I (*sc.* Libanius) take no pleasure in accusing Constantius, but my narrative demands that I do so, for it is impossible to separate praise from blame." (trans. Norman). On this use of Constantius as a foil against which to set J. to greater advantage by supporters of J., see Gärtner, 1968, 502, n. 2 and Seager, 1983, 155-6.

alienated the goodwill of your associate in government¹⁰ if not the brilliance of your renown? 2. I call upon the immortal god, I call upon my own conscience, as sacred to me as the divinity, to bear witness that I should have spoken at length and with firmness, in this city above all, concerning all that has been cruelly and disloyally devised and implemented against the best of emperors, if it so happened that the divine Constantius were still, even now enjoying the society of men. 3. Certainly I should never have shirked the duty laid upon a free citizen and an honest senator of refuting those calumnies and of proving that the very causes of his hatred for you ought rather to have bolstered his affections for you and guaranteed your loyalty to him.

4 The most ancient and once flourishing cities were in the hands of the barbarians. That renowned aristocracy of the Gauls had either perished by the sword or else was reduced to slavery in the hands of cruel masters. 2. Furthermore, other cities, preserved by their remoteness from the devastations of the barbarians, lay at the mercy of unscrupulous brigands in the name of provincial governors. Free men were submitted to undeserved tortures; no one was safe from injustice, no one secure from assault, unless the cruelty of the assailant could be mitigated at a price. So that in these parts even the rule of the barbarians would have been preferable and the poor wretches looked with envy on the lot of the prisoners. 3. Such was the state in which our emperor found the Gauls, yet in disposing of the external enemy he found neither the least difficulty nor the least danger: in one engagement the whole of Germany was destroyed, defeated in a single battle.¹¹ The changing of habits, however, and the reestablishing of the rule of law proved a hard struggle and, what is more, an undertaking beset with danger. 4. For the worst reprobates were also those most hostile to the authority of Caesar, and in seeking to avoid the retribution of the law they found an answer in new crimes; since they could not justify the disgraceful offences they had committed they concentrated all their hatred on the avenger of the law. 5. And since the behaviour and principles of a virtuous prince provided no opportunity for trumped-up censure, they, so adroit in causing mischief, pursued their savage campaign of accusation under the disguise of

¹⁰ Constantius never regarded J. as an equal partner. So long as he lived J. was his heir designate performing specific military and administrative duties. The subordinate position of J. was made clear in the laws issued between 357 and 361 (esp. *CT* XVI,2,13-15). Cf. *Amm.* XX,9,4.

¹¹ I. e. the Battle of Strasbourg (summer, 357). The claim that J. defeated the barbarians in one single battle is a gross exaggeration as it took J. no less than four campaigns to consolidate the Rhine frontier. Cf. *Amm.* XVI,1,1-6,1 and 11,1-12,65, XVII,8,1-10,10 and XVIII,2,3-18, *Zos.* III,3,3-8,1, *Jul., ep. ad Ath.* 279B-361D (8.1-49, ed. Bidez), *Lib. or.* XVIII, 80-94 etc. Cf. Bowersock, 1978, 37-45.

praise; repeating in each assembly with every appearance of benevolence "Julian conquered the Alamanni, Julian raised the cities of Gaul from dust and ashes. 6. Those provinces which were conquered, occupied, laid waste by fire and the sword are now more prosperous than our towns which have never known enemy invasion and which are in the hands of Constantius. Julian passed all his summers in campaign, his winters in administration. 7. In this way he divided the year into two parts; in the one he tamed the barbarians, in the other he restored the rule of law to the citizens, for he has declared a continuing war against both the enemy and corruption."

5 These words were more successful in arousing hatred than all the calumny. For if they had attempted to impute some imaginary disgrace they would have been easily confounded by the magnificence of his glory and his reputation. As it was they implied a kind of accusation which no-one could deny. 2. But what, I ask you, in your opinion should our prince have done? Should he have handed over Roman cities to the enemy, for fear of offending his brother's pride? Those provinces, so faithful and so valuable to the State, should he have allowed them to be ravaged and torn apart under his very eyes, lest Augustus should receive some news which might vex him? Was it his duty not merely to give free rein to the venalities of the governors but even to encourage and urge them on, lest some difference of principle should cause friction between princes? 3. We are told that a certain young nobleman of Etruria, because the incomparable excellence of his appearance led numerous women to fall in love with him, slashed his own face so as to obliterate its beauty with scars. It was easy for that young man, who held the purity of the soul in higher esteem than the beauty of the body, to ruin the whiteness of his skin and disfigure the comeliness of his countenance with deep and penetrating cuts.¹² 4. Are we then to argue that Julian should have employed some such device to ward off the devotion of his fellow-citizens? He could not have achieved any such thing, unless perhaps we consider that the very beauty of virtue is the suffering of wounds. He could, I suppose, have darkened the white purity of his justice, he could have removed the purple of a virtuous modesty from his temperateness, he could have marred with undeserved blemishes the face of his courage and put out the eyes of his forethought! 5. Then again, even if that youth had not raised a pitiless hand to his own visage, the passage of time itself would, after only a brief delay, have put an end to all that

¹² According to Valerius Maximus (IV,5, ext. 1.) there was an Etruscan youth of great beauty by the name of Spurrina who attracted the attention of not a few well born ladies. Fearing that their husbands and fathers were suspecting him of misdemeanour, he disfigured his fine features with wounds; thus he preferred the deformity as a pledge of his chastity to his fine visage being an incitement to lust. On M.'s use of Valerius Maximus, see also nn. 41 and 49.

flowering of the flesh. But as to the virtues of our prince, in proportion as he advances in years, so they reveal themselves as all the more outstanding in excellence.

6 I leave aside the barbarian world, united in arms, risen in its entirety against the defender of Roman liberty, the people recently conquered¹³ and restlessly chafing under their newly imposed yoke, incited to a fresh climax of fury by criminal agitation.¹⁴ All these problems, however, finally were down the resolute and unyielding patience of the greatest of princes.¹⁵ 2. So it was that, once he had put down the rebellious Alamanni, caught in the midst of their preparations for war, this prince of ours, who had but lately traversed, at the head of a victorious army, regions, mountains and rivers of unknown name, passing through kingdoms at the ends of the earth and inhabited by savage tribes, flying over the heads of rulers and spurning them beneath his feet, appeared suddenly and unexpectedly in the very midst of Illyria.¹⁶ 3. Those of us who were fortunate enough to accompany the prince on this expedition witnessed how the astonished inhabitants of the cities were unable to credit what their eyes told them.¹⁷ 4. No greater consternation, I imagine, could ever have been aroused amongst those men who first received the Palladium¹⁸ when it fell from the sky. Young girls,

¹³ A reference to J.'s victories in the West. See above, n. 11.

¹⁴ M. here gives his support to the view that the Alamanni were secretly encouraged by Constantius to raid Roman territory in order to keep J. occupied. Cf. *Jul., ep. ad Ath.* 286 (12.9-17 Bidez), *Amm.* XXI,3,4-4,6, *Lib. or.* XVIII, 107 and 113, *Soc., h. e.* III,1,38 and *Soz., h. e., V,2,23*. On this see esp. Szidat, 1981, 88-91.

¹⁵ M. nowhere gives the impression that J.'s march to the East was to face the inevitable struggle against Constantius but rather that it was for the revitalization of the Empire. Among the justifications given in the other sources for the march were J.'s intention to reinforce Constantius against the Persians (*Zon.* XIII,11,7) and his wish to give his reasons to the senior Emperor for his assuming the diadem at Paris (*Greg. Naz., or.* IV, 46.9-11, ed. Bernardi, p. 148; cf. Kurmann, 1988, 160).

¹⁶ J. divided his army into three parts for his advance against Constantius. One part under Nevitta travelled via Raetia and Noricum, another under Jovinus and Jovius across N. Italy and the third part he took with himself down the Danube (*Amm.* XXI,8,3). He arrived at Bononia, the nearest port to Sirmium in early Oct. 361 (*ibid.* XXI,9,1-8 and 10,1).

¹⁷ The presence of M. in the *comitatus* of J. is confirmed by *Amm.* XXI,8,1 and 25.

¹⁸ An image of Pallas Athena which was revered as a talisman of the city or place where it was kept. The most famous of these was the Trojan Palladium which was taken by Aeneas to Italy (*Dionys.* 1,69, *Paus.* II,23,5, *Ov., Fast.* VI.421 etc.) and was later kept in the Temple of Vesta in Rome. According to Ammianus (XXII,2,4), J. was greeted by the citizens of Constantinople as someone who had fallen out of the heavens.

youths, women, trembling old crones, tottering old men, looked on in fright and stupefaction as the emperor, burdened with heavy armour, burned up miles of his long journey, his breath shortened by haste yet without inducing exhaustion, rivulets of sweat trickling over his strong neck, and through the furring of dust which covered his hair and beard, his eyes brilliant and glinting like stars.¹⁹ 5. The grandeur and wonder of it all stifled the shouts of acclaim. Indeed the obligation to applaud fell short of the acclamation deserved from the spectators.

7 Haste alone was sufficient to resolve the problems of the moment, but it does not suffice our prince to consider the public weal from only one point of view. Many problems at once assail a heart untiring in its labours. So that he could, at one and the same time, assure the stability of the most faithful provinces and overawe the whole barbarian world by bringing terror closer to home, he decided to travel down the Danube by the longest route. 2. By the holy divinity! What a ceremonious progress that was!²⁰ The whole right bank of that famous river was fringed with an unbroken line of inhabitants of both sexes, people of all walks of life, armed and unarmed, while on the left bank we could see the barbarian hordes fallen on their knees in miserable prayer!²¹ 3. All the cities which stand within easy reach of the Danube were visited, in all of them their resolutions were listened to, their situation alleviated and their fortunes re-established;²² innumerable

¹⁹ J.'s brilliant eyes are noted by both his admirers (e. g. Amm. XXV,4,22) and his detractors (e.g. Greg. Naz., *or.* V,23.16-17, ed. Bernardi, p. 338).

²⁰ The river journey is here described as an imperial *adventus*. However, we learn from both Ammianus (XXI,9,2) and Libanius (*or.* XVIII,111-112) that part of the voyage was conducted in great secrecy so as to bypass the strong points which remained loyal to Constantius. See also Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,47.9-12, ed. Bernardi, p. 148, cf. Kurmann, 1988, 162-163. The progress was so rapid that the citizens of Sirmium at first thought that it was Constantius who had come. Cf. Zos. III,10,3.

²¹ Cf. Lib. *or.* XIII,23: "What then of all these occurrences would excite most admiration - your (*sc.* J.'s) maintenance of the right, the valour of your followers, the novelty of your progress whereby, though expected to take the overland route, you sailed along allowing observation of your movements, for the most part, only after attaining your objective, on that voyage that inspired panic among savage tribes, or the wondrous gifts they brought to the river-bank, each of them purchasing the diversion of the armada from their lands?" (trans. Norman). On the theme of the supplicating or submissive barbarians in Roman panegyrics and art see esp. MacCormack, *art. cit.*, 184-185.

²² Since the river journey from Ulm to Bononia only lasted eleven days (Zos. III,10,3), one wonders if he could have done little more than bypassing the strong-points wherever possible and capturing those he could not avoid by a combination of force, persuasion and strategem (Lib., *or.* XVIII,111).

barbarians were granted a pardon and endowed with the blessing of peace.²³ Whoever might contemplate the rapidity of his passage would assume that the emperor could have achieved nothing beyond the actual journey: whoever should assess the multitude of solid achievements would not be able to credit the speed of their accomplishment.²⁴

8 O Greece renowned for eloquence! You alone have been successful in exalting to the very limits of credibility the deeds of all your princes, you alone have matched in fluency of speech the glory of their exploits. 2. You it was who, for the theft of a golden fleece and the stealing away of a maiden, raised a certain ship to the heavens and consecrated it amongst the stars.²⁵ You it was who published abroad how that youth, inventor of sowing,²⁶ borne in a chariot drawn by winged dragons, scattered seeds broadcast over the land. 3. If you were to undertake to recount and celebrate our prince's career, what would you make of Julian's fast cutters and brigantines, since not only did they not pillage anything from a single person nor devastate any of the towns which gave them hospitality²⁷ but issued, what is more, to all the peoples, a largesse of exemptions, privileges and gifts of money? 4. With what majesty would you describe the fleet gliding down this mightiest of rivers, propelled by oars and the winds alike, and our prince presiding aloft on the poop, not scattering grain here and there across the fields, but distributing amongst the Roman towns great optimism, liberty and wealth,

²³ J. made maximum use of Constantius's pact with the barbarians to his political advantage in the frontier regions. Cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII, 112, Soc., *h. e.* III, 1, 38 and Soz., *h. e.* V, 1, 2. The granting of indulgence to the barbarians is a common *topos* in imperial laudations. See references given in Gutzwiller, 1942, 135-36.

²⁴ J. enjoyed the reputation of being a highly efficient administrator. According to Libanius (*or.* XVIII, 174), he could combine the three functions of hearing, speaking and writing without making mistakes. On his conciseness as a legislator see e. g. *ELF* 70 (= *CT* XI, 39, 5).

²⁵ A reference to the legendary voyage of the Argonaut. At the end of her adventures, the ship was transformed into a constellation in the southern sky.

²⁶ A reference to the mythical Triptolemus, the son of king Eleusis and the favourite of Demeter. He was hailed as the inventor of the plough and agriculture and was the great hero in Eleusinian mysteries. Cf. Plin., *nat. hist.* VII, 56 and Virg., *georg.* I, 19. See also Amm. XXII, 2, 3.

²⁷ Perhaps another reference to the legend of the Argonautae, used here as a contrast to the behaviour of J.'s picked troops. The Argonautae were well received by Cizycus, the king of the Doliones but after they had left the island, contrary winds brought them back a second time and they were mistaken as Pelasgians, the traditional enemies of the Doliones. In the ensuing struggle, Cizycus was killed. Cf. Apollodorus, *Argonautica* I, 960-1055, ed. Seaton.

whilst on the other hand casting over the barbarian lands the fear of war, confusion, panic and terror?²⁸

9 And what a marvellous thing it was to behold, that whilst still navigating the Danube you were, at the same time, extending your munificence as far as the Adriatic, as far as the Tyrrhenian Sea, as far, even, as the Egyptian Sea! For at that very same moment when the Dalmatians were being relieved of their oppressive taxation, paid as a tribute of horses,²⁹ the Epirotes, reduced to despair by the burden of an intolerable levy,³⁰ were not only finding the weight of their misery lightened by your providence, Emperor, but were, furthermore being re-established on the road to a life of real wealth and opulence. 2. The city of Nicopolis, which the divine Augustus had had built by way of a trophy, as a monument to the victory of Actium, had almost totally collapsed into dismal ruins;³¹ the houses of the nobility were crumbling, the roofs of the public buildings had fallen, in, and since the aqueducts had been destroyed a long time ago the whole place was full of filth and dust. 3. The public games which used to be celebrated regularly every five years³² had been suspended at this sad time of decline and collapse of public life. Athens itself, mistress and creator of the liberal arts, had lost all the eloquence and polish of its life-style both public

²⁸ M.'s description of J.'s triumphal journey through Thrace is paralleled by that of Amm. XXII,2,3.

²⁹ The heavy indiction of horses resulted from the misuse of the public post. Cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII,143-144. One of the first acts of the new Emperor's legislation was to limit its use to necessary journeys and to put an end to trafficking in permits. Cf. *CT* VIII,5,12 (Feb. 362), *ELF* 67a and Lib., *or.* XVIII,145. However, J. himself was not averse to using the public post for private reasons. On this see *ELF* 36 which gives an interesting account of the improvement to the system, probably as a result of the reforms undertaken by M.

³⁰ The reduction of the taxes for the cities was a great source of popularity for J. and was grudgingly acknowledged by his enemies. Cf. Lib., *or.* XVI,19 and XVIII,163, Ambros., *de obitu Valentiniani* 21, *PL* 16.1426A and Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,75.1-5, ed. Bernardi, p. 192. We have a letter of J., written probably in 362, *ELF* 72, granting partial remission of taxes to the Thracians. The weight of the fiscal burden on the Greek cities might have been exaggerated by M. as one of his predecessors as *PPO Illyrici*, Anatolius, was noted for his efficient administration (Amm. XIX,11,3 and *Aur. Vict.*, *lib. de caes.* XIII, 5-6) and his patronage for learning (Eunap., *v. soph.* X,6,4-10 and 7,6). He was however succeeded by Florentius (*v. supra*, n. 3). See also note 36.

³¹ Founded by Augustus as a trophy of his victory over Antony in 31 B. C. (Suet., *Aug.* 18,2), Nicopolis was the capital of Epirus under the Tetrarchy. The city was devastated by an earthquake in the second half of the fourth century.

³² The quadrennial games were instituted by Augustus in 28 B. C. at Nicopolis in honour of Apollo Aktios and were equal in status to the Olympic games.

and private.³³ 4. Eleusis was nothing more than a pitiful mound of rubble. But it would take too long to list all the cities restored to life at the intervention of the Emperor: it is sufficient only to note that all the cities of Macedonia, Illyria and the Peloponnesus, thanks to one or two letters ³⁴ from the hand of our all powerful emperor, enjoyed a sudden resurgence of youth, with freshly rebuilt walls, with waters newly welling forth in abundance, irrigating, flooding, saturating all those places where before was nothing but arid and gasping drought, with public squares, promenades, gymnasia all thronged with happy and cheerful people, with all the old feast days once more being celebrated, as well as new ones dedicated in honour of the prince.

10 If some mortal, borne aloft on a cloud to a heavenly vantage point,³⁵ had been able, so short a time ago, to look down upon the vast area of desolation, the half-demolished towns, the abandoned ramparts, the desertion of the inhabitants, the mass of exiles, and if now that same mortal could regain that same aerial look-out and survey from on high the joyfulness permeating the whole region, the land resown, the cities full of inhabitants, water flowing throughout the towns, the magnificence displayed not so much by private houses as by the newly risen public buildings, the fields prolific with abundant crops appropriate to the terrain, the vintage surpassing the prayers of the peasants, the steep hills, the deep valleys and the broad plains resounding to the cries of domestic animals, to their bleating, neighing and lowing, assuredly he would be amazed at how, in so short a time, this whole tenor of life had changed, assuredly he would leap down from the clouds and eagerly relinquish those regions of the sky in order to enjoy, Emperor, the fruits of your land. 2. What a wonder it is that no one, faced with all that great work of improvement, felt the burden of any

³³ An over-gloomy picture as Athens was still the foremost centre of learning in the Roman world. Among the graduates of her academies of this period were Libanius (*or.* I,15-26, Eunap., *v. soph.* XVI,1,2-3), Eunapius (*ibid.* X,1,1-4), Gregory of Nazianzus (*or.* V,23.1-3, ed. Bernardi, p. 336) and his cousin Basil (*Greg. Naz., or.* XLIII, 14-24, *PG* 36.514A-529B). J. himself spent a brief but happy time there in 355. Cf. *ep. ad Ath.* 275A (5.44-50, ed. Bidez), and *or.* III,118C-119D (12.21-54 Bidez). See also Lib., *or.* XVIII,29. On the vitality of Athens as a university city see esp. Walden, 1912, 109-118 and 296-333. While at Naissus, J. wrote his famous letter to the reopened temples and senate and people of the city justifying his usurpation (cf. Kaegi, 1971,168-70). He also settled a dispute between the priestly families there (Lib., *or.* XVIII,115).

³⁴ On J.'s letters to the Greek cities see esp. *ELF* 20-22. His efforts to revitalize urban life also extended to N. Africa. Cf. Warmington, 1954, 35-36 and Arce, 1984, 105-108, nos. 50-91 and esp. 137-147.

³⁵ A similar picture of provincial prosperity is also painted by Libanius (*or.* XVIII, 90).

cost, that money was found by the emperor to pay for it all and that, by a reversal of the normal way of things, a sort of tribute was paid out to the provinces so that the coffers which previously collected wealth from every quarter were now dispensing it to one and all! What arouses the greatest curiosity, Emperor, is where you acquired the resources to pour forth this largesse so generously. 3. But he who has had experience of your principles and philosophy of life will easily discover the source of your generosity. It is your parsimony,³⁶ Augustus, which provides your greatest source of revenue. For all that which others used to squander on their own personal pleasures is now reserved entirely for the benefit of the community.

11 Up to now one might have assumed that the sole reward of power is that the emperor may be distinguished from all other citizens not by the valour of his actions nor by the splendour of his glory but by the enormity of his expenses. 2. For instance, quite apart from the colossal and unnecessary construction work involved in building their accommodation, the expense of keeping up the immense court and all its hangers-on easily exceeded the cost of maintaining the legions.³⁷ 3. Furthermore, the State was well aware of the extravagant elaboration of their lunches and dinners, for their gourmet foods were valued not so much for savour as for rarity, unusual birds, fish from far-away oceans, fruit out of season, snow in summer and roses in winter! All these excesses the emperor's soul rejected, victorious over³⁸ such sensual gratifications. 4. Nor had he any need to acquire paintings, marble inlays, panelled ceilings decorated with solid gold, he who was accustomed, during the greater part of the year, to sleep on the bare ground

³⁶ In the Late Empire, it was the practice to let fiscal arrears accumulate for a while and emperors would write them off periodically by a general indulgence as a gesture of magnanimity. Shortfalls, however, were covered by supplementary levies. The system was unfair to the small tax-payer who did not benefit from the indulgences but was compelled to pay the levies and J.'s policy was not to issue indulgences and to pare public (especially palace expenditure) to a minimum. Cf. Jones, 1964, i, 120. M., while praising J.'s frugality, however, did not mention his offerings to the traditional gods which by all accounts were prodigal. Cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII, 129 and Amm. XXV, 4, 17. M. here is quoting Cicero, *parad. stoic.* VI, 3. On J.'s *parsimonia*-propaganda, see esp. Pack, 1986, 104 and 119-120.

³⁷ The expulsion of excess domestic servants from the court at Constantinople by J. is a well-known episode. Cf. Lib. *or.* XVIII, 130-131 and Amm. XXII, 4, 1-5 and 9-10.

³⁸ "M. elegantly builds on the hint contained in the word *victor* by contrasting with the enjoyment of diverse luxuries a series of *topoi* which belongs to the image of the general who shares the hardships of his men and so would be appropriate to a *victor* in the primary sense." (Seager, 1983, 156).

and with only the sky for shelter;³⁹ nor had he any use for a host of contractors ready to minister to his pleasures, he who had need of so little; nor had he any time for banquets, he who, more often than not, took his meal standing up and then only as much as was necessary for the maintenance of life, content with the rations of an ordinary soldier, served by the attendant at hand and accompanied by whatever drink available.

12 But amongst all these virtues I can hardly praise sufficiently the fact that a man so strict and frugal for himself should be so generous and relaxed towards his people,⁴⁰ reserving the most difficult tasks for himself so that we may enjoy a peaceful existence, for experience leads us to observe that men who lead austere and disciplined lives are both difficult and morose: lacking in spontaneous gaiety themselves they are even more gloomy towards others, making domestic life sorrowful and troubled. 2. But our most revered emperor takes infinite pains that we should have suitable homes, that we should enjoy an abundance of goods, that we should lead virtuous, certainly, but also cheerful lives; whereas other princes were reduced by hard toil to a sour grimness or by idleness to a slack indulgence, whereas those emperors of a serious disposition were never agreeable and those who were more affable were rarely industrious. Nor did any of those princes who was hard on himself behave tolerantly enough towards others to discourage the rest of them from following his example. 3. Our emperor, however, who has no mercy on himself, burdened by his vexations and toil, procuring us all our leisure by his labour; always liberal with his largesse, always greedy of cares, preferring to assume the burden of the most punishing trials himself rather than lay that burden on others.

13 After the expulsion of the kings many an ambitious man dreamed of exercising sole and absolute power over the republic. Many are the names on record of those at least who, driven by a mad fury to challenge their own state, suffered a terrible punishment for their aspirations to kingship. 2. I pass over those who in olden times were hurled headlong from the (Tarpeian) rock, whose property was confiscated, whose homes were rased,

³⁹ On J.'s simple lifestyle see esp. Jul., *misop.* 7, 341C/D, Amm. XXV,4,4, Lib., *or.* XVIII,174, Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,71.1-5, ed. Bernardi, p. 182. The Emperor Constans was praised in very similar fashion by Libanius in *or.* LIX,145-146.

⁴⁰ On J.'s liberality and generosity towards his subjects see esp. Amm. XXV,4,15 and the material collected in *ELF* 72. (N. B. P. *Fayum* 20, an edict on the remission of the crown gold given as *ELF* 72b by Bidez and Cumont, is almost certainly an enactment of Severus Alexander and not of J.).

whose names were proscribed for posterity:⁴¹ for our age too has seen not a few madmen driven by the same insane fury, impelled to rush to their deaths by a blind lust for power. 3. Suppose one of the gods were to restore them briefly to life and address them as follows, "You for instance, Nepotianus⁴² and Silvanus,⁴³ you sought the supreme power, even at risk of drawn swords and the ever present threat of death. Today the throne is offered to you spontaneously on condition that you rule in the same spirit as Julian: you shall be vigilant day and night for the peace of all and, despite your title of Master, you shall labour to serve the liberty of the citizen, you shall go to war more often than to table, you shall be indebted to none and ready, furthermore, with largesse for all, you shall grant privilege to none, offer violence to none, in all the lands of the earth you shall not harm the reputation of any maiden, for your bed shall be free even from permitted and legitimate pleasures being more chaste than the couches of the Vestals, bareheaded you shall endure in summer the dust of the Alamanni, in winter the frosts of Thrace." Assuredly their delicate ears would not be able to sustain the impact of the very words: terrified by such a regime they would take a great dislike not merely to the purple but to life itself and would hasten to retire to some region lower even than hell itself! For they would realise that a true prince is by his office at the mercy of unrelenting work, responsibility and vigilance whereas they saw only the agreeable and attractive face of power and not the difficulties of the task.

⁴¹ Three examples which would have readily come to the mind of Roman readers are Sp. Cassius Viscellinus (*cos.* 502, 493 and 486 B. C.), Sp. Maelius and M. Manlius Capitolinus (*cos.* 392 B. C.) who were all executed for attempting to gain sole power by ingratiating themselves to the plebs through popular legislations. Cf. Livy, XVI,7,1-2, Cicero, *rep.* II,49 (fragmentary) and Valerius Maximus, VI,3,1. On these would-be tyrants of the Republic see esp. Ogilvie, 1965, 337-39, 550-51, 694 and 734. The *saxum Tarpeium* or *rupes Tarpeia*, the cliff from which the murderers and traitors were thrown, was situated at the south-west corner of the Capitoline Mons. Cf. Platner and Ashby, 1929, ii, 509-10.

⁴² Julius Nepotianus (*PLRE*, i, p. 624) was son of Eutropia, the daughter of Constantine. At the height of the revolt of Magnentius, he collected a band of gladiators and runaway slaves in Rome and assumed the purple (June 350) during the absence of Fabius Titianus, the Prefect of the city. He was killed after 28 days by the troops of Magnentius. Cf. Aur. Vict., *lib. de caes.* 42,6 (see esp. Dufraigne, comm. *ad loc.* p. 201), [Aur. Vict.], *epit. de caes.* XLII,3, and Zos. II,43,2-4.

⁴³ Formerly an officer of Magnentius, (Claudius?) Silvanus (*PLRE*, i, 840-41) was Master of Infantry under Constantius and was of Frankish descent. He was sent to Gaul to quell a formidable rebellion by the barbarians in 352/3-355. In July 355 he assumed the purple in Cologne, having been falsely accused by an informer before the Emperor. His revolt was brought to an end by Ursicinus after 28 days. Cf. Amm. XV,5. None of the sources suggest that he was in any way a tyrant in his style of government. On usurper = tyrant in Late Roman literature, see esp. Wardman, 1984, 226-34.

14 Since, then amidst these lofty preoccupations, Julian had achieved his objective and arrived at the frontiers of Thrace,⁴⁴ after hastily arranging for the provisioning of his army, he turned his attention to the city of Rome, which was suffering from a shortage of food.⁴⁵ 2. Anyone else would have been deterred from trying to relieve it by the extremely serious famine and the formidable dangers which faced the State. But by using the tribute from the provinces and the revenues from his own patrimony, he bought grain wherever it was available and directed it in abundance and superabundance to the hitherto starving city. Someone may ask "How did he achieve so much so quickly?" and he would ask with reason. 3. But our emperor extends the working hour by depriving himself of leisure. He has no thought for sleep, for the table, for relaxation: he denies himself the use even of natural and necessary satisfaction: everything yields before the public interest. 4. For this reason his reign will already be accounted of long duration by those who assess the times of Julian not according to the number of days and months but according to the multitude of achievements and the measure of tasks accomplished. 5. While he was preoccupied with the provision of food for the Roman people and the revictualling of the army, while he was in the midst of all the bustle of procuring supplies the news arrived that a fleet of ships, laden with African wheat, had coasted past the shores of Achaea and was heading for Constantinople.⁴⁶ Thoroughly irritated, and angry with those whose job it was to keep a look out over the coastline, we came in a body in search of the Emperor: we all vied with each other in complaining that through the idleness of the governors this huge cargo of grain had been lost. 6. But our great emperor replied with a serene smile that he had not been remiss and that nothing was lost to him which came to that city. We attributed these words to his well-known love for his fatherland, as the ambiguity of his comments disguised their projection of future events: for

⁴⁴ After capturing Sirmium through a commando-type action led by Dagolaihus, J. seized the Succi pass which controlled the main line of communication between Thrace and Illyricum. He then established his headquarters at Naissus, within striking distance of Thrace and Constantinople. Cf. Amm. XXI,9,5-10,5. See also Kaegi, 1975, 162-168.

⁴⁵ The supply of corn to Rome was by no means assured in this period. Amm. XIX,10 recounts riots breaking out in the city in 359 while Tertullus was Urban Prefect when the corn-ships were unable to reach the city as a result of adverse weather and contrary winds.

⁴⁶ In 358, Gaudentius was sent by Constantius to Africa to organize defensive measures against an invasion by J. (Amm. XXI,7,2-4) and was later executed by J. (ibid. XXII,1,1). It seems that he had originally intended to send a corn-fleet to Rome but, on hearing that J. had occupied Italy, he diverted the fleet to Constantinople. Cf. Geffcken, 1914, 57.

even at that time his spirit, confident of divine inspiration, was foreseeing the actuality of future success.

15 Once he had, within only a few short days, restored the State to a new prosperity, the emperor turned his august mind to the heights of office and the distinctions of the magistracy. 2. The question as to who should be consul began to be argued within the debating chamber of his divine breast. What was the train of his reasoning he himself knows and the divinity, whatever that may be, which is pleased to shape his decisions. From amongst all the citizens of the Roman Empire I was chosen first,⁴⁷ at the very time when the selection of a colleague covered with military glory enhanced the value of my honour. 3. My thanks to you, Emperor, my thanks indeed, if you have thought me worthy, and even more thanks, Emperor, if you hold me in such affection as to name me consul though undeserving. 4. I do not ignore the fact that it is customary for the highest honours to be awarded to the unworthy in default of more suitable candidates, but I have no fears lest the spiteful should assert this to be the case with my consulate. If some malicious person should insinuate such a thing the circumstances themselves would refute it: it would be sufficient to point out in opposition that already by this time Rome was obedient to our prince. 5. Shall I add that it was at a time when I nourished no hopes of further advancement (for the modesty of my ambitions did not stretch further than the praetorian prefecture), that the announcement came of my appointment to the consulate without expense to myself, a concession which has for a long time been rarely granted, without effort on my part, which is unheard of, and without intrigue, which none can avoid?

16 Who is not aware that at that time also, when the Roman people allocated honours by the vote, there was much soliciting by the candidates? Everyone's name had to be memorised, voters had to be addressed by tribes and even individually, hands of passers-by shaken, everyone favoured with a smile, a pretence of familiarity had to be presented towards not only the most humble but even the totally unknown and a multitude of other things done for the sake of office, which under different circumstances would be judged unworthy of a man of honour.⁴⁸ 2. Whence derives that well known

⁴⁷ M. was appointed chief consul by J. with Flavius Nevitta (*PLRE*, i, 626-627) a cavalry commander of Barbarian origin. J. himself had earlier criticized Constantine for appointing barbarians to high office (*Amm.* XXI,10,8 and XXII,12,25).

⁴⁸ M.'s negative views of Republican elections are drawn directly from the so-called 'Handbook of Canvassing' (*commentariolum petitionis*) attributed to Quintus Cicero, the younger brother of Cicero. In it the intending candidate for election is advised, *inter alia*, to acquire a memory of names (11,41), to find support among all the tribes of

quip of Crassus.⁴⁹ At the time when he was seeking the consulate, and while he happened by chance to be walking through the streets of the city with Scaevola his father-in-law, he did not dare, in the presence of a man so grave and serious, to flatter the people, to wheedle new acquaintances and generally employ the arts of a candidate. "I beg of you, Mucius," he said, "leave me for a little while, and do not assume that you honour me by your company: you are putting my election at risk: with you watching I cannot bring myself to behave so absurdly." 3. As for myself I have earned no favour by unseemly flattery, I have committed no absurdities, I have done nothing which I should be ashamed for Mucius to see. 4. Not only have I never asked anything of any of my fellow-citizens, but even to you, Emperor, to whom it is most right and proper to offer supplications, to whom prayers are offered with the utmost dignity, I have never addressed a single word. It is of your own free will that you have lavished upon my family this divine favour.

17 Yet I have a confession to make to you, Greatest of Emperors, indeed I intend to reveal without fear all the deepest secrets of my soul. Never have I yearned to hold responsibility for the life or death of citizens nor have I desired the governorship of provinces, yet, since I realise that I also must render service to the state to the best of my ability, whenever I have been summoned to take up an administrative post I have never refused, lest I should incur the accusation of laziness. 2. I have never canvassed public duties nor have I refused them through timidity or apathy, but from my tenderest years, from early manhood right up to my present old age, I have been consumed with a desire for the consulate.⁵⁰ 3. But I must take a second step on the path of my public confession. When the State was within the control of other princes, for a long time I nourished this vain desire without even the consolation of hope. Whence came upon me the mad folly of aspiring to such a title, impoverished as I was and innocent of intrigue? 4. For first when you were Caesar you fanned with the breath of great hope

Italy (8,30-31) and to win the kind of friends in the course of canvassing with whom he would not normally associate (7,25).

⁴⁹ L. Licinius Crassus (*cos.* 95 B. C.) was one of the most distinguished Roman orators before Cicero. The same story concerning his canvassing is found in Cicero, *de or.* I, 112: "The truth is that, when in quest of an office, I (*sc.* Crassus) used in canvassing to send Scaevola away from me, explaining to him that I proposed to be silly (*ineptus*), that is to make myself winsome in my wooing, and this required some silliness (*inepte*) if it was to be well done, whereas our friend here was of all men the one in whose presence I was least willing to appear silly." (trans. Sutton and Rackham, LCL). M.'s source, however, was more likely to have been the version in Valerius Maximus (IV,5,4) which exhibits a number of verbal similarities.

⁵⁰ The same high regard for the consulship is also expressed by Libanius in a speech commissioned by J. (*or.* XII,12) and delivered before him in Antioch upon entering his fourth consulship on 1 Jan., 363.

the erstwhile dying flame of my ambition. For, indeed, when I recognised in you a most admirable judge of probity and virtue, I said to myself: "Claudius Mamertinus, your life so far has not been in vain. You have found a very sufficient judge of your loyalty and industry. Bear in mind that your affairs have reached a decisive turning-point. If this present emperor fails to nominate you for the consulate you will know that you did not deserve it."

18 This then, Augustus, is the explanation for my silence, this is the secret which I have preserved unspoken for so long. Nor have I told the whole of it even now. Yet I have no desire to carry away from here any vestige of hidden truth: I intend to unburden my breast of all its innermost mysteries. 2. If you had called a halt to your patronage and if you had, at variance with your usual manner, introduced a note of artificiality into your generosity towards me, I should perhaps have asked. 3. Do you imagine then, Emperor, that it is but a small favour, to have spared me the perils inherent in such a request? Yes, perils, I repeat, Venerated Emperor. If you had hesitated over my appointment, if you had postponed it until later, what would have happened to me after such a rejection? 4. Indeed it is in seeking minor favours and not receiving them that friendship fades away. For that affection, which is the bond of friendship is destroyed on both sides. The one assumes he is no longer loved because of his refusal to comply, the other decides he must be hated since he has been denied. To tell the truth I should not feel I had been appointed consul without ulterior motive, if I had purchased the honour by my own pleas. A pitiful and laborious business I should have undertaken, at my advanced age, to enrol as a new recruit in the art of soliciting favours! 6. For in my opinion it is no more reprehensible to dole out money than prayers. Just consider, how we see all those in the market for rewards, confident of repayment, proudly and boldly laying out their gold and silver, whereas those who are offering prayers appear humble and submissive, hardly able to utter a few hesitant and stuttering words, not only keeping their speeches subdued but going down on their knees and prostrating themselves. Yes, indeed, I speak from the heart when I say that he who accedes to prayers sells his favours dearly.

19 If, in fact, I had been elected as consul by the *Comitia Centuriata*,⁵¹ should I have deemed it a greater honour to have been chosen by the votes of a whole populace? Not at all, for even in those days of old the Campus

⁵¹ One of the three main citizen assemblies of the Republic, they were based on the division of people in *centuriae* according to the value of the property of the individual citizens. The *comitia centuriata* were held on the Campus Martius (Dion. Hal. VII,59,22) as were the *comitia tributa* (Plut., *C. Gracch.* 3,1). In the Late Republican period their functions were limited to the election of consuls and praetors. Cf. Taylor, 1966, 84-106.

Martius was disgraced by the taint of intrigue. The villainy of the electoral officers is well known, as is the juggling of the ballot-boxes, not to mention the bands of mercenaries hired to apply force or provoke civil uproar. 2. Nor, in truth, is it possible for any considered judgement to emerge from a disorderly crowd of ignoramuses. For since good men are scarce, and the ranks of the unworthy are enormous, yet in the Campus Martius it is numbers and the mob which carry the day, then without doubt it is clear that by popular vote the magistracy will be awarded to whomsoever the majority prefer, that majority consisting of the least worthy citizens. This is why our ancestors witnessed the election of such as Gabinius and the rejection of such as Cato.⁵² 3. However, these are matters of history: let me recall to mind how honours have been solicited in more recent times. Very few have emerged who received office on merit, and even to them the reward for their diligence and honesty has come late. 4. The rest, indeed, had recourse to the most abandoned of the courtiers. So that whoever seemed in greatest favour with the Emperor, through whatever vile scheming, they cultivated him by continuous flattery and entrapped with gifts. Nor did they confine their attentions to men but were even in the habit of cultivating mere women: nor women only, but also eunuchs, who are, so to speak, exiles from the society of the human race, belonging neither to one sex nor the other as a result of some congenital abnormality or physical injury.⁵³ Even the illustrious representatives of the old families used to fawn upon the most degraded and infamous creatures of the imperial court. 5. And these same men, when they were turned loose into the provinces, pillaged far and wide, sacred and profane alike, paving their way to the consulate with silver.

20 Furthermore, it was now no longer fashionable to practise the most honourable pursuit. Military service was rejected by the nobility as a squalid occupation, unfitting for a free man. The study of civil law, which raised men such as the Manilii, the Scaevolae and the Servii⁵⁴ to the highest ranks

⁵² M. seems to have confused A. Gabinius (*cos.* 58 B. C.), Pompey's legate in the East, with P. Vatinius (*cos.* 47 B.C.) who won the praetorship in 55 B. C in a notorious election in which Pompey and Crassus used both bribery and force freely against the supporters of M. Porcius Cato, his principal rival. Cf. Plut., *Cato* 42,2-5 and *Pompey*, 52,3, ed. Ziegler.

⁵³ The court of Constantius, according to Ammianus (XVIII,4,2), was in the grip of his eunuchs, of whom the most influential by far was Eusebius, *praepositus sacri cubiculi* 337-361. Cf. *PLRE*, i, 302-303. On the role of eunuch in the imperial administration of this period see esp. Hopkins, 1963, 62-80.

⁵⁴ T. Manilius Torquatus (*cos.* 165 B. C. cf. Val. Max. V,8,3), M. Manilius (*cos.* 149 B. C., cf. *Dig.* I,2,2,39, Cicero, *de or.* I,212), P. Mucius Scaevola (*cos.* 136, 133 B. C., *pont. max.* 131), Q. Mucius Scaevola (*cos.* 117.), Q. Mucius p.f.p.n. Scaevola

of dignity, was despised as a pursuit fit only for freed men. 2. Our aristocracy spurned the art of public speaking as an affair of much difficulty and little use, since everyone wished to give the appearance of disdaining what they had been unable to acquire. And to tell the truth, to undertake so much labour and sleepless nights for the sake of acquiring an art whose use would be of no help in carving a brilliant niche in life was regarded as madness. 3. And so all endeavour was concentrated towards the massing of wealth. For the richer a man was the more he was valued as a person. 4. Now one could perceive a pitiful willingness to tolerate servitude, an astonishing facility in compliance. The doorsteps of the court officials were besieged daily. At the gates of those who ministered to the imperial desires you might discern haughty descendants of patrician pedigree, not to be deterred by rain or snow, or even the pain of injury, from their unseemly occupation. Prostrated and grovelling they hardly raised their heads above the knee-level of those they supplicated. To tell the whole, they owed their promotion not to the esteem or kindness of the haughty but to their pity.

21 Today, however, if one is ambitious for provincial governorships, tribunates, prefectures or consulates, it is no longer necessary to amass a fortune by methods permitted or illicit, nor to demean one's freedom by base flattery. The readier a man is to accept servitude, the more will he be judged unworthy of honour. 2. What is more it is a very different band of men who enjoy the friendship of our prince - unpolished (or so they would seem to those sophisticates) not excessively mannered, somewhat rustic in style, they spurn the blandishments of the courtiers, and as for the touch of other people's money, they shun it like the plague: their greatest riches they hold to be founded in the health of the state and the resounding glory of its emperor. 3. He himself, by his profound and inspired prudence, is protected against all the inducements and deceits of place-seekers. Indeed, how can the false poison of flattery harm a man who lends only a reluctant ear to genuine praise?⁵⁵ 4. Nowadays the way is much, much easier for those seeking public honours. If you wish, I repeat, to seek a magistracy there is no need of gold and silver, no need to go from house to house, knocking on the doors of the powerful, no need to embrace the feet or the knees of anyone. Only take to yourself as companions those virtues which are free and so easy

(*cos.* 95 B. C.) and Servius Sulpicius Rufus (*cos.* 51) are among some of the most distinguished jurists and Republican statesmen from these three gentes. Fragments of their works are collected in F. P. Bremer ed., *Jurisprudentiae antehadrianae quae supersunt*, I (Leipzig 1896) pp. 25-27, 32-37, 48-104 and 139-242.

⁵⁵ On J.'s disdain of flatterers see esp. *misop.* 32,360C/D. As for his attempt to restrain the illicit but widespread practice of the sale of offices see *Amm.* XXII,6,1-5 and *CT II*,29,1, = *ELF* 65. Cf. Barnes, 1974, 290-291.

to acquire, justice, courage, moderation and wisdom:⁵⁶ of his own accord our great emperor will approach you and earnestly press you to engage in public affairs. 5. Without having to stir yourself and while you are busy with other cares, the provinces, the prefectures, the fasces, the curule chair, all the insignia of civil office will be offered you. To sum up, what honour may a man of true and complete probity not confidently promise himself, when he sees me, Mamertinus, for the sake of the so slight merit of my integrity, singled out for honour three times in one year?

22 Is there any god who in a single year has granted to a single field a multiplicity of harvests? Is there anyone who has in one season garnered more than one crop from the same newly-ploughed land? Who has, from the same vineyard, in the same autumn, seen the wine flow three times from a three-fold vintage? No, indeed, each winter there is but one gathering of olives. But when it comes to the beneficence of our prince his repeated generosity no longer seems extraordinary. 2. Without mentioning other eminently worthy citizens who, between one autumn and the next, have harvested the fruits of many years, I at least, with the achievement of this consulate have reaped a copious reward three times in a single year. First of all, I was awarded the custody of all the treasuries, together with responsibility for distributing largesse. Second place in my inventory of honours goes to the Praetorian Prefecture. The third crop to be added to my store is the Consulate, with which alone any man's ambition might well be satisfied.⁵⁷ 3. Then again, when a field is constantly cropped its fertility declines and it becomes barren: yet our emperor in his generosity triumphs over such weakness: he does not become wearied through giving, but rather finds a renewed fecundity in the bestowal of rewards. Moreover, this heaping of honours upon me was something unexpected and un hoped for. 4. The stars had barely moved on in their orbits when the prince set in motion a second course of dignity: at that time the sun was casting down its rays from the same quarter of the sky as now, when Augustus has passed through the third stage of my career in the magistracy. 5. I ask you, would not any man have seemed to you too greedy for vainglory, burning with an unworthy ambition, if he should have coveted for himself honours on a par with those simultaneously heaped by Augustus upon my head?

23 There are, they say, lands in the midst of the ocean, inhabited by the virtuous, which are called the Isles of the Blessed, because in these places

⁵⁶ On this standard list of imperial virtues see Gärtner, 1968, 511 and Blockley, 1972b, 443.

⁵⁷ On M.'s career see above, Introduction, pp. 4-6

the soil brings forth crops without the use of the plough,⁵⁸ the slopes of the hills are naturally clothed in vines, the trees of their own accord are weighed down with fruit, everywhere instead of weeds, are freely-growing vegetables. 2. Are these not wretched little gifts, if you consider that a god is the author of them? For we also, without cultivating the fields with our own hands, can obtain these same goods without effort. 3. How much better is our condition! How much greater our contentment! These are not ears of grain, nor humble bunches of grapes, but power and wealth we are offered at no cost to ourselves: provinces, prefectures, fasces, all are freely provided. 4. It is you, yes, you, I repeat mighty Emperor, who have restored within the State the virtues condemned to exile and rejection, reinvesting them, as it were, with their old privileges,⁵⁹ you it is who have revived the forgotten pursuit of the literary arts. As for the study of philosophy, so recently under suspicion,⁶⁰ not only deprived of honours but accused and condemned by prejudice, you have not only freed it from indictment, but have clothed it with the purple, decorated it with gold and precious stones and seated it upon the imperial throne. 5. Now it is possible for mankind to look up at the heavens and contemplate the stars with a confident gaze, while only yesterday, drooping and dispirited like four-legged beasts they kept a trembling eye fixed upon the ground.⁶¹ For who would dare to watch the rising of a star, or its setting? Not even the farmers, whose work is regulated by the movement of the heavenly constellations, scrutinised the omens of storms. 6. Even the sailors, who steer their nocturnal courses by the stars, abstained from observing the heavens. To sum up, by land and sea it was no longer the science of astronomy which ruled our lives but fortune and fear.

⁵⁸ These are islands set apart by Zeus at the end of the earth for a semi-divine race of heroes where they live untouched by sorrow and where the earth bears fruit three times a year. Cf. Hes., *op.* 171, Pindar, *Ol.* II, 71 and Plato, *Gorg.* 523B.

⁵⁹ M. has used a legal term *postliminium* which signifies the right of a Roman citizen who had become a prisoner of war to regain his full rights on his return to Roman territory. See e. g. Amm. XIX,9,6-8. Cf. Berger, 1953, 639 and Lieu, 1986, 495-496. On J.'s encouragement of legal studies among his officials see esp. his newly discovered law, *c. Juliani de postulando*, edd. and transs. Bischoff and Nörr, 1963, 6-10.

⁶⁰ This could hardly mean the study of Classical philosophy which was never seriously attacked under Constantius. More probably M. was using the word in its wider sense to include the study of astrology and the occult which was suppressed by Constantius (*CT* IX,16,4) and favoured by J. (Amm. XXV,4,17 and Greg. Naz., *or.* V,5,4-8, ed. Bernardi, p. 303).

⁶¹ Under Constantius it was dangerous for pagans even to gaze at the stars as they could be indicted for sorcery. Cf. Lib. *or.* XIV,41. See also idem, *or.* XII, 91 where a similar imagery of transformation of human beings to animals is used of the effect of Constantius' religious policy.

24 It is not then surprising, Emperor, that the citizens feel for you such a profound and true devotion. In my opinion, no one, since mankind came into existence, has inspired such warm affection in the hearts of the human race. 2. Other kings and emperors rarely aroused any degree of esteem and then never for very long. Such love as men had for them was of a very superficial nature, called forth by some sudden and fortuitous indulgence, rather than a firm attachment produced by admiration of their virtues. 3. But our affection, in contrast, derives from a firm and thoughtful judgement: it is seated deep within our hearts, part and parcel of our life and being, and even when our bodies are dissolved in death, it will live on with our immortal spirit. 4. Consequently, your arms and the troopers with their swords and javelins are not there to protect your person, but as a dignified and traditional adjunct to imperial majesty.⁶² For what need is there for all this, when you are fenced about by an even safer rampart, the love of your citizens? 5. Are you to be afraid of the Curia, when you have not only restored to the Senate its ancient dignity⁶³ but have also accorded it a multiplicity of new honours? Is he to stand in fear of the people who has taken such care for their subsistence, protected their lives, guaranteed their liberty? And what should I say concerning the army? The ancient annals record at the most only two or three pairs of friends. 6. I swear that none has even been more cherished by a single friend than you are, Emperor, not only by your aides-de-camp and staff-officers but by the entire legions, cavalry and infantry, as well as the common soldiers.⁶⁴ 7. In which case, as far as you are concerned you could have instantly removed all weapons from your personal body-guard. Yet how could you persuade the army to accept such a step? The solicitude of the faithful is ever uneasy. The greatest love is inseparable from the greatest fear. It is not enough for us that you have achieved a situation where no one would wish to do you harm, unless we take every precaution to make that very thing impossible.

⁶² Constans was also lauded by Libanius (*or.* LIX,144) for not needing a guard but being the sentry for his own guards.

⁶³ According to Libanius (*or.* XVIII,154), J. showed considerably more deference to debates in the Senate than his immediate predecessors. He was so exceptional in this that even as staunch an opponent of his religious policy as the church historian Socrates (*h. e.* III,1,54,) would remark that the Emperor was accustomed to sit up at night composing speeches which he afterwards delivered in the Senate and he was the only Emperor to make speeches there since the time of Julius Caesar!

⁶⁴ The devotion of his troops to J. is well attested. Cf. *Jul., ep. ad Ath.* 285B/C (11.36-45, Bidez), *Amm.* XX,4,13-14, *Lib., or.* XVIII,95-99. For background see esp. Szidat, 1981, 65-89.

25 Sundry other princes have found affection and fanatical devotion in their retinue, but of a very different sort. For one reason, since they were rough and uncultured themselves they selected from the most ignorant of men those to share their counsels,⁶⁵ if only so that their own common sense should stand out to some extent amongst the vulgar crowd which comprised their court. 2. And so the vilest of men, having once achieved honours and wealth, protected both their own interests and the immoralities of their princes. Men of this sort relegated the virtuous to some distant place, since probity was suspect and frowned upon, and the more honest a man might be the more he was shunned as an inopportune witness to villainy. 3. But you, Augustus send away all men of straw and seek out only the best and the most learned. If anyone excels in his qualities as a fighting man or in his military reputation he joins the circle of your friends, whoever is pre-eminent in the oratorical arts, or in the science of civil law, is gathered without further ado into intimate acquaintance. 4. Whosoever, in the administration of public affairs, has at any time proved himself upright and industrious, is accepted as a collaborator in matters of state. 5. Wherefore, in the matter of provincial governorship, you select not your own closest friends but men of the greatest integrity!⁶⁶ And all of them are endowed with affluence by you, enriched with wealth and dignified with honours.

26 On top of this you keep your friendships with the fidelity of a private citizen, with the opulence of an emperor. The infallible test of a solid and lasting affection, the most sure of all virtues and the essential one in a prince, is sincerity. 2. I have never once heard it even hinted that there might be the slightest doubts about you in anyone's mind. You have never deceived anyone with pretended blandishments, never cheated anyone with false promises. Who does not remember the jovial cruelty, the savage guffawing of other emperors? In this case an inborn disposition to cruelty was hidden behind a mask of good humour. 3. In our emperor we marvel at the harmony of mind and speech. He recognises that lying is not only characteristic of the weak and craven spirit, but is also a servile vice. Indeed, since it is either poverty or fear which makes men liars, an emperor who lies ignores the extent of his fortune. 4. Who, I ask you, has offered more proofs of his good faith and constancy? All those who became his friends when he was a private citizen he holds in just the same regard now that he is emperor: none have been demoted, none refused access to him, none has found the palace gates closed to him, he treats them all as honest men. 5. In

⁶⁵ I. e. in the *consistorium*, the Late Roman equivalent of the *consilium principis* of the High Empire. Cf. Jones, 1964, i, 333-341.

⁶⁶ A contrary view is given by Gregory Nazianzus (*or.* V, 19.9-13, ed. Bernardi, p. 330) who asserts that the provincial governorships were entrusted to men of cruel nature and that the only avenue of advance was apostasy.

choosing friends he is an excellent judge; if any should prove imperfect he tolerates their faults, a faithful and enduring friend.

27 Yet the smiles of fortune transform men's characters. If they have not yet transformed our prince when will they? Who has ever been blessed with such good luck? 2. Only recently, in the devastated provinces of Gaul, surrounded by the open hostility of his most deadly enemies he was also forced to contend with their secret ambushes: a few months later, by a divine dispensation, he became ruler of Libya, of Europe and of Asia. What greater favours can one look for at the hand of the god? What richer gifts from Fortune? 3. Let us see, now, whether, puffed up by his success, he has changed in any way the gentleness and simplicity of his former life. Yes indeed, he has quite unmistakably changed. His moderation is even more marked and has assuaged the envy of his success. 4. To whom has he not given a proof of his calmness of temperament, even at that very time when, on seeing the State delivered from the fear of a disastrous war, we were all giving way to wild transports of joy? 5. For our emperor, although he realised that the safety of the State was maintained only by divine assistance, yet took pity on human frailty and pardoning all offences, took on the true role of a brother: the very man whom he knew to be taking up arms against himself that same man he surrounded with honours on his death and afterwards himself paid his last respects in person.⁶⁷ Equally remarkable in the acts of remembering and forgetting, he forgot his enmity and remembered only his obligation as his heir.

28 But why do I search so far to find evidence of his courteous and gentle nature? Today, this very day, I repeat, has given sufficiently clear proof of his moderation.⁶⁸ 2. My colleague and I were afraid lest our noble emperor should go too far in his desire to demonstrate his courtesy. 3. So we make our way to the palace at the crack of dawn. Our arrival is announced to the prince just at the moment when he is receiving the salutations of his courtiers. Instantly, as though he had anticipated us, he started down from his throne with a troubled and anxious expression, just such as I should have worn if I had arrived late to present myself to the prince. 4. With difficulty he cleared a way through the great throng of

⁶⁷ J. sedulously avoided giving the impression that there was an irreconcilable gap between him and Constantius. The respect paid by J. to the corpse of Constantius is praised by Libanius (*or.* XVIII,119-20); but Gregory Nazianzus (*or.* V,17.21-4, ed. Bernardi, p. 326) says that J. acted under constraint. See also Zon. XIII,12,2-5 and Soc., *h. e.* III,1,50. Cf. Kaegi, 1967, 250-251.

⁶⁸ The events described in 28,1 - 30,4 would have taken place only hours before the actual delivery of the speech, unless the passages were added to the text of the speech at a later date. Cf. Amm. XII,7,1. On this see above, Introduction, p. 5.

people who had preceded us, thus causing himself to walk as far as possible to meet us. And then, O holy divinity, amidst universal rejoicing, with what expression and with what voice he said, "May you fare well, eminent consul!" He deigned to honour us with a kiss from those lips hallowed by connexion with the gods and offered us his right hand, that hand, immortal pledge of virtue and loyalty. 5. The poets tell us that the supreme deity who holds the whole world in his power, and whose eternal authority rules the affairs of gods and men, when he casts his eyes down upon the earth can by the expression on his face alone, change the uncertain course of tempests, by a nod cause the world to tremble, by his smile disperse the whirlwind, dispel the clouds, pour down again around the globe the brilliance of a serene heaven.

29 That this is so our eyes were permitted to behold only a few hours ago. How the populace abandons itself to celebration once you have smiled upon your consuls! 2. We witnessed faces struck with awe and admiration, rejoicing manifested in all its guises, the surging of the packed throng of bodies. From the heart of the crowd arose a confused uproar as they gave free rein to their acclamations. The whole vast assemblage danced on and on, capering with joy. Amidst the overriding merriment all sense of decorum and propriety was forgotten. There arose such a flurry of togas, such a frolicking of bodies, for people hardly realised what they were about. 3. Unrestrained enthusiasm overbore all the natural moderation of the people, all the respect due to you yourself. "May you fare well, eminent consul". Yes, indeed, I do fare well, Emperor, and I shall fare well. For there can be no doubt about the outcome of this vow, since he bids me fare well who has already made it certain that I shall do so. "Eminent consul". Yes, for sure, I am a consul, and an eminent one. Has there ever been indeed a more eminent consul than myself, exalted and brought into the limelight by the consulate you have conferred, by the distinction you are conferring? 4. After the initial greetings and good wishes he enquired what action we proposed to take as a result of our consular power, whether, on the completion of our senatorial duties, we saw fit to go before the tribunal, or to summon the assembly or to mount the rostrum. But it was to the Curia that the decrees of the Senate directed us, following the established practice of our times. 5. What is more he offered to accompany us himself and so, flanked on either side by his consuls wearing the toga praetextata, he proceeded forth, not easily distinguished from his magistrates by the nature and colour of his robes.

30 Perhaps it may appear superfluous to recall events which you yourselves have witnessed (for the ears have no desire to know what the eyes have already perceived), yet it is essential to commit to writing, to record in histories, to hand on to future generations the marvels which those of centuries to come will scarcely be able to credit. 2. He was on the verge

of ordering the consular chairs to be carried within the very doors of the palace, and, when, obedient to a sentiment of respect and veneration for his person, we refused that seat reserved for the highest dignity, he forced us, almost with his own hands, to take our places and then, hemmed about by the crowd of citizens in togas, he set out to precede us on foot, adjusting his pace more or less to the beckoning of the lictor and the orders of the summoner. 3. Will anyone believe such a thing possible, who has beheld so recently the haughtiness of those who wore the purple? Who for that very reason heaped such honours on their own courtiers in order not to have to despise them as men without honours. Will anyone believe that after such a long period of time, the old freedom of ancient days has been restored to the State? Even the consulate of Lucius Brutus and Publius Valerius, who, after the expulsion of the kings, were the first to govern the city with an annual authority, ought not, in my judgment to be ranked above ours. 4. Both beneficial to the public good, both advantageous to the Roman Republic, both a notable sign of better times to come; yet each possesses its own unique advantage. They received their consular power from the people, we have received ours from the hands of Julian. In the year of their consulate liberty was born, in ours it is restored.

31 It may be, revered Emperor, that your acts of justice, moderation and kindness are a source of profound astonishment to some; they are not so to me, for I know that, absolved and free as you are from all human vices, you are consumed only by the desire for immortality, to direct all your works and thoughts in such a way as to leave an everlasting memorial for posterity and to submit yourself first and foremost to those judges who in centuries to come, will give a verdict on your deeds without prejudice or favour. 2. It is not possible for a man to think base and contemptible thoughts knowing that he is always the subject of talk. 3. And now if my speech, Emperor, seems to you to be lacking in richness and to fall short of your merits, I beg and beseech you not to attribute this to my personal abilities but rather to the overwhelming magnificence of your gifts. 4. No one, no one since the beginning of the human race has received greater rewards from the hands of kings or emperors, no one has had such a heavy burden placed upon him. 5. I shall not deny that prefectures and consulates have been conferred upon many, but in their case, after their immense expenditure of labour, the honour was almost, as it were, the repayment of a debt: in my case it is now, having already obtained the honour, that I must at least labour to deserve it. Reversed now is the normal order of events, changed indeed the sequence of rewards: it is only now, when I have already received the prize, that I must endeavour to be judged worthy of it. 6. O what a crushing burden upon me is your eager benevolence! I am afraid that I may not be able to explain clearly the full scope of my problems. It is easier, Emperor, to earn the consulate through meritorious behaviour, than to succeed, by industry and effort, in justifying the appointment which one already holds.

32 Perish the thought, Augustus - and may the holy divinity ward off the omen - that you should expect from any mortal a return for your beneficence! Nevertheless, for it is in this sphere only that your position can be enhanced or that we can contribute towards your splendour, I shall repay the undying renown of your gifts with eternal fidelity. 2. All my work, all my leisure will be devoted to praising and celebrating your deeds; nor will it only be while I have life and strength that the affection of a grateful heart will manifest itself, but even when the breath of life has fled, the evidence of your kindnesses towards me will remain. 3. So in order to convey my thanks to you, revered Emperor, I make a promise to you, a promise I shall always keep: never shall I be found lacking in the freedom to offer counsel, nor in the courage to shoulder danger, should the occasion arise, nor in the loyalty called for to offer straightforward advice, nor in the independence needed to oppose the desires of men, if the interests of the State or of yourself demand it, nor in the industry to accomplish my tasks, nor in a zealous desire inspired by gratitude, to augment the prosperity of your empire. Throughout the entire span of my life I shall strive by every means, with all my strength and through every obstacle to prove that the honours you have bestowed upon me were not granted, as a matter of necessity, to the first comer, but were, through a sense of fittingness, appropriately allotted and wisely chosen.

II. ANTIOCH AND DAPHNE

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

*Homily on Saint Babylas,
against Julian and the Pagans*

*(De Sancto Babyla
contra Julianum et Gentiles)*

XIV - XIX

translated by

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INTRODUCTION

(1) From Constantinople to Antioch

As a child, Julian was given a strict Christian upbringing at the orders of Constantius and he sedulously retained the outward observance of Christianity while he remained on amicable terms with his imperial cousin (Amm. XXI,2,4 and Zon. XIII,11,6, CSHB). It was not till after his decisive break with Constantius that he began openly to perform pagan rites (ELF 26,415C, Zos. III,11,1, Soc., *h. e.* III,1,39, ed. Hussey and Soz., *h. e.* V,2,2). One of the first enactments of the new emperor on religious matters was to permit the reopening of pagan temples and to restore sacrifices (Amm. XXII,5,2, PAES III. A/2, no. 132. p. 108 = Arce, 1984, 111, no. 115, etc.; cf. ELF 42). The Christians were given assurances that they would not be treated unjustly and that they would not be compelled to perform sacrifices. On the other hand, he repealed the special privileges accorded to the clergy by Constantine and Constantius and people who had despoiled temples were made to rebuild them or to defray the necessary cost (Soz., *h. e.* V,5,1-5, ELF 42, Lib., *ep.* 724,2, 819,4, 1364,7 etc., idem, *or.* XVIII, 126 and Amm. XXII,4,3, cf. Bliembach, 1976, 26-29). Out of a genuine desire for religious peace Julian also recalled bishops who had been driven into exile by the various sectarian squabbles (Aug., *c. litt. Petil.* II,97, Soc., *h. e.* III,1,48, and Amm. XXII,5,3). This was seen by many contemporaries, however, as a calculated move to weaken the church through internal dissension (Soz. *h. e.* V,5,7), since chaos soon reigned in a number of sees as the returned exiles contended with incumbents for the legality of their episcopal rights. That it was not his intention to allow the empire to be engulfed by stasis was clearly shown by his determination not to allow Athanasius, the most controversial cleric of the time, to remain in Alexandria on his return from exile (ELF 110) and by his later warnings to citizens of Alexandria, Edessa and Bostra not to join their clergy in sectarian rioting (Amm. XXIII,11,11, ELF 60, and 114-5). Perhaps he believed that a church which was divided into sects would be more difficult to restore as the state cult than one which was bound together by a tradition of orthodoxy.

However, the new emperor was not unequivocal about his own religious convictions. As an indication of the new order, the sign of the Cross was removed from the imperial standards (Soz., *h. e.* V,17,2, ELF 48) and Christians were debarred from service in the Praetorian Guards (Soc., *h. e.* III,13,1, ELF 50). Civic communities which were zealous in the revival of pagan rites were granted special privileges (Soz., *h. e.* V,3,4-5; 3,7 and 15,4, ELF 53 and 55-6). He also turned his palace into a temple and conducted sacrifices with greater enthusiasm than the priests themselves. The imperial office of *pontifex maximus* he took more seriously than any of his predecessors and even acted as attendant, slaughterer and priest at public sacrifices (Lib., *or.* XII,80-82 and XVIII,126-29).

Strenuous efforts in the meantime were made to continue the work of improving both imperial and provincial administration which he had begun in Illyricum and Greece and for which he had received such warm approval from supporters like Mamertinus (*grat. act.* 7-10, see above pp. 18-22). The palace was purged of all surplus cooks, barbers, stewards and eunuchs (Amm. XXII,4, Soc., *h. e.* III,1,50 and Lib., *or.* XIII,130-132). The number of personal secretaries and aides were also reduced to an absolute minimum (Lib., *or.* II,58 and XVIII,131). The municipal upper classes and professionals had their traditional civic rights and obligations redefined in a new set of legislations (*ELF* 58, 61, 65 and 66). An end was sought to the misuse of official privileges (*ELF* 67) and the 'crown gold', a standard form of coronation tax, was remitted (*ELF* 72). Such measures ran counter to the prevailing trends towards greater autocracy and centralization at the expense of local autonomy. Naturally they were against the vested interest of those who had secured immunity from civic duties through service in the imperial administration or by entering the Christian priesthood. Moreover, the returning of confiscated property to the pagans and the payment of the cost of rebuilding or restoration were not to be acceded to by the Christians without considerable protest. The lynching by a pagan mob of George the patriarch of Alexandria who had refused to hand over a church which was being built on a former Mithraeum (Amm. XXII,11,5-8, and Soc. *h. e.* III,2,1-10) was a tragic example of the problems which confronted Julian in his attempt to re-establish paganism as a *religio licita*.

Julian's sojourn at Constantinople lasted only till June, 362. The new capital on the Bosphorus, founded as a symbol of the triumph of Christianity, was a city without any pagan background and could hardly have been an ideal base for an emperor whose heart was set on the revitalization of the traditional cults. Julian was also too much of a Hellene to be totally at ease in a western capital city like Rome or Milan. The occasion of an expedition against Persia gave him the opportunity to travel to Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, and one of the most important centres of Greek culture in the Empire. The city had long been the pivot of Rome's eastern defences. In the days when Roman power was hemmed in by the Euphrates, at least four legions were based in Syria (Tac., *ann.* IV,5,4) and three of them had their headquarters within easy reach of the metropolis of Antioch (cf. Keppie, 1986, 414-418). With the extension of Roman influence beyond the Euphrates under the Antonine and Severan Emperors, the legionary bases moved eastwards to cities like Sura, Resaina, Circesium, Singara, Nisibis etc. (see e. g. *not. dig.*, *Or.* XXIII-XXXVII; cf. Gracey, 1983, 104-109 and Lightfoot, 1981, 73-77); but Antioch remained the imperial headquarters for any major campaign against Persia (cf. Lib., *orr.* XI,177-9, XV,15-17 and XIX,54-55). The expeditionary force would be formed and equipped at Antioch - hence the existence of an important armament industry in the city

and in nearby Damascus and Edessa (cf. Malalas, *chron.* XII, p. 307,20-23, *not. dig.*, *Or.* XI,18-24, *Lib.*, *or.* XLII,21 and *CT* X,22,1).

Once Julian was at a safe distance from the new Christian capital, he issued the most controversial edict of his reign which required all professors and schoolmasters to obtain a diploma of approval of their high moral standing from the civic authorities before they might teach (*CT* XIII,3,5,17 June, 362 = *ELF* 61a, cf. Hardy, 1968, *passim* and Pack, 1986, 261-300). That this was specifically directed against Christian teachers was made explicit later in a public letter (*ELF* 61b) in which Julian accused certain teachers of being intellectual charlatans and hucksters for teaching the ancient myths of the Greeks while subscribing to a totally different set of personal beliefs. He also made public his resentment of Christians turning against the classical authors the weapons of rhetorical skill which they had acquired through studying these very authors (Thdt., *h. e.* III,8,2 GCS = *ELF* 61d). Not every pagan, however, shared Julian's view that classical learning was the preserve of paganism while rusticity and ignorance were the hallmarks of Christianity (cf. Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,102.1-3, ed. Bernardi, p. 250). Many educated Romans were undoubtedly saddened by the abrupt departure from the ranks of the teaching profession of such illustrious names as Marius Victorinus, then Professor of Rhetoric at Rome (Aug., *conf.* VIII,v,10) and Proaeresius, the most distinguished sophist at Athens (Eunap., *vit. soph.* X,8,1) whose lectures Julian might have attended when he was at Athens and whom Julian was prepared to exempt from the ban (Hieron., *chron.*, s. a. 363, ed. Helm, pp. 242,24-243,1). The edict was so manifestly bigoted and unfair that even a pagan admirer of Julian like Ammianus preferred it to be 'buried in eternal silence' (XXII,10,7).

In the person of Libanius, the rhetor of the city, Antioch had one of the most articulate and zealous champions of the old religion. Julian had been one of his admirers while they were both in Nicomedia c. 347-349, but Julian, in order not to betray his real religious sympathies, did not come to hear him in person and had to content himself with studying the notes of his lectures (*Lib.*, *or.* XVIII,13). Libanius was of course overjoyed by the accession of Julian and especially the news of his impending visit to Antioch (*Lib.*, *or.* I,119). He was among the large crowd which met the Emperor at the boundary of the province (*Lib.*, *or.* I,120) and was immensely pleased that Julian greeted him in person after being told who he was (*Lib.*, *ep.* 736,1-2).

When Julian first decided to spend the summer and winter of 362/3 at Antioch, he had entertained grandiose hopes of making it the capital of an empire which mirrored his political and religious views. "I intend to make it a city of marble," was his remark to Libanius on arrival, echoing the famous words of Augustus on the manner in which he transformed the city of Rome

(Lib., *or.* XV,52, trans. cit., cf. Suet., *Aug.* 28). Another indication of the significance he gave to the visit was the appointment of his maternal uncle and his namesake as the Count of the Orient (*comes orientis*). Originally a Christian, he had recently been won over to paganism by his nephew and could therefore be counted upon to implement the policies of the emperor, especially in the field of religion.

(2) Julian at Antioch

Julian entered Antioch on 18 July, 362, and received a tumultuous welcome from those who were grateful for the favour he had shown to the old religion. They saluted him as a god, using a metaphor which echoes the words of Mamertinus (*grat. act.* 2,3, see above p. 14): 'health-giving star which had risen over the Orient' (Amm. XXII,9,14). However, this euphoria was hardly representative of the general mood of the city with regard to this particular imperial visit. Looking back, Ammianus saw it as a bad omen that Julian should have chosen to arrive at the time of the lamentations in the festival of Adonis as the air resounded with shrieks for the young lover of Venus who was cut off in his prime (*ibid.*). The ritual wailing was soon joined by the chants of the volatile theatrical clagues in words like 'Everything plentiful, everything dear.' (Jul., *misop.* 41, 368C and Lib., *or.* XVIII,195). This was the Antiochene way of reminding the emperor that the region had been seriously affected by a drought of unparalleled severity the previous winter (Amm. XXII,13,4 and Lib., *loc. cit.*) and the consequent scarcity of wheat was exacerbated by unscrupulous corn-merchants who hoarded supplies in order to sell them at exorbitant prices to the large expeditionary force which was gathering in the city. The army, we must remember, was one of the most heavily monetized sectors of the Roman economy and could be expected to pay the high prices. Eight years earlier, Julian's brother, Gallus, faced by similar problems, contributed directly to his own downfall by threatening the council of Antioch with wholesale execution when its members opposed his policy of price-cutting (Amm. XIV,7,2 and 11, 19-23, Lib., *or.* I,97-103 and *idem ep.* 391,9-10; cf. Blockley, 1972a, 435-46 and Bliembach, 1976, 115-116). One might expect Julian to have learned from his brother's experience and introduced rationing at once before the situation got out of control. He merely summoned the corn-merchants and forced them by edict to charge a reasonable price (*ELF* 101) and set an example by selling corn from the imperial estates at the rate he fixed (Lib., *or.* XVIII,195). Without draconian penalties in attendance, the edict had little effect and speculation remained rife. The hoarded corn was probably sold in the countryside where there was less control on prices. By October, 362, the situation was so critical that Julian had to order the importation of corn, despite the high cost of land transport, from the regions less affected by the drought and from his imperial estates and sold them at low prices (Jul., *misop.* 41, 369A; on cost of grain transport, see esp. Teall, 1959, 95-96). Such a move would have hardly

endeared Julian to the governing clique of Antioch as the transportation of corn was a highly unpopular liturgy among the *curiales*. (Lib., *ep.* 350,1-2; cf. Fatouros and Krischer, 1980, 343-344). The imported corn only served to do further damage to the delicate economic balance between Antioch and its surrounding countryside as it drove up the price of bread in the latter and local farmers were compelled to raise the prices on other foodstuffs to compensate for it (Jul., *misop.* 41-42, 368D-370A, Lib., *or.* I,126 and XV,21. See also Amm. XXII,14,1. Cf. Petit, 1955, 114-116).

In his handling of the economic crisis, Julian seriously over-estimated the vestigial local patriotism of the city council. Increased centralization had eroded civic autonomy and many well-to-do decurions had succumbed to the attractions of imperial service. The rump of the council which survived was heavily stratified, with the more powerful members, the *principales*, enjoying the social prestige which the membership still brought while using their power and influence to shift the more onerous duties such as tax-collection and the maintenance of essential urban services onto the shoulders of the less privileged colleagues. At a time when many were sedulously seeking ways of evading the civic obligations of their council membership, Julian's efforts to revive local patriotism through increasing the size of the local senate of Antioch by adding two hundred members, 'sparing no man' (Jul., *misop.* 40, 367D, Zos. III,11,5 and Lib. *or.* XLVIII,15; cf. *CT* XII,1,51 = *ELF* 99), could have hardly been a popular move. As it turned out, the existing senators elected men who were engaged in speculation and who made full use of their elevated status to the financial advantage of themselves and those who had elected them (Jul., *misop.* 40,368 A/B; cf. Prato and Micaella, 1979, 155-157).

The unity of the Christian church in Antioch was a prime victim of Julian's policy of granting toleration to all cults and sects. In the years immediately after the Council of Nicaea in 325, those opposed to its theological stance had endeavoured to silence its main supporters, amongst whom was Eustathius, the Bishop of Antioch. A group of anti-Nicaeans under the leadership of Julian's former tutor, Eusebius of Nicomedia, came together at Antioch and convened a sort of synod. In it they produced a woman carrying a child whom they alleged to be the mistress and offspring of Eustathius. This revelation was effective and Eustathius was exiled to Thrace where he died. A group loyal to his memory then broke away from the Great Church and met in the Church of the Apostles. They came to be called Paulinians after Paulinus who had led the schism. The great majority of the Christians in Antioch, however, accepted the official appointees who were mainly Arians after a fashion. The confusion was compounded by the controversial election in 360 of Meletius to the bishopric as he was not a whole-hearted supporter of the teaching of Arius. Shortly after his election he delivered a sermon before Constantius which was held as pro-Nicaean by

his opponents and Constantius was duly persuaded to exile him to Lesser Armenia. An Arian by the name of Euzoius was nominated bishop in his place by the Emperor. Julian's edict of toleration, however, brought Meletius back to Antioch to contend for his see. To make matters worse for Christian unity in the face of a pagan revival, Lucifer, Bishop of Caligari, one of the most outspoken anti-Arians during the reign of Constantius, reached Antioch ahead of Julian and consecrated Paulinus, the leader of those who were loyal to the memory of Eustathius, as bishop. Thus, when Julian arrived, Antioch had three bishops in Meletius, Euzoius and Paulinus, - a fact which could not have failed to amuse and please the emperor who saw in it a signal proof of the axiom that a house divided against itself cannot stand (cf. Soc., *h. e.* I,24, II,44 and III,6, Soz., *h. e.* II,19, IV,28 and V,13 and Thdt., *h. e.* I,21,3-9, II,31,1-13 and III,4,3-5,4, GCS).

As matters turned out, Julian was to be greatly disappointed. He had anticipated much greater devotion to paganism at Antioch and much less opposition from the Christians for reasons given above. Despite its Hellenic past, Antioch had, by the fourth century, become a major centre of Christianity. To Julian's dismay, he found that both pagans and Christians regretted the passing of Constantius - "Neither the *Chi* (i. e. Christ) nor the *Kappa* (i. e. Constantius) did our city any harm", was a common saying (Jul., *misop.* 28, 357A). The fanatical devotion of Julian to the old gods was frankly unacceptable to the majority of pagans who had come to see the pagan rites as a way of life rather than a cause to be championed. They complained that they were not able to keep up with the all too frequent forays of the emperor to the various temples in the city (Jul., *misop.* 15, 346 B/C and Lib., *or.* I,122-3,XV,79 and XVIII,171-2; cf. Sievers, 1868, 92). Although he himself abstained from the feasting which followed the sacrifices, his soldiers gorged themselves on the meat and the streets of Antioch resounded to their revelry (Amm. XXII,12,6). At a time of food shortage, the sight of the Celts and Petulantes feasting on the burnt offerings would hardly have endeared the emperor and his army to the citizens. It was also rumoured that the Emperor and his entourage indulged in magical practices which included nocturnal sacrifices and necromancy (Soc., *h. e.* III,2,4-5, Thdt., *h. e.* III,26-27, GCS and Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,92.4-7, ed. Bernardi, p. 230, see also comm. *ad loc.*).

(3) The Fire at Daphne

An incident which well illustrates the depth of Julian's frustration at pagan apathy in Antioch and the strength of the Christian opposition in Antioch to his religious policy was sparked off by his effort to revive the famous oracle of Apollo at Daphne. Situated on a plateau about six kilometres (or 40 stadia, cf. Strabo, *geog.* XV,750,6) to the south-east of the city, the site of Daphne was celebrated for its cypress groves (Malalas, *chron.* VIII, p. 204,10-12), the crystal clearness of its water which came

from an offshoot of the Castalian spring (Amm. XXII,12,18 and Evagr., *h. e.* I,16, p. 26,14 edd. Bidez and Parmentier) and the temperateness of its climate. Occupied since the foundation of Antioch in 300 B. C., local tradition asserts that the site first caught the imagination of the founder of the city, Seleucus Nicator (c. 358 - 281 B. C.), when he was out hunting one day. He came to a tree which he believed was the one into which Daphne, the daughter of the river god Ladon, had transformed herself when she saw no escape from the amorous pursuit of Apollo. But the god continued to haunt the place and his presence was confirmed when a golden arrow head with the inscription of 'Phoebus' (i. e. Apollo) was unearthed by the hoof of the horse of Seleucus (Lib., *or.* XI,94-100). The latter constructed a splendid shrine in honour of the god which housed a statue of Apollo Musagetes by Bryaxis (Cedrenus, *comp. hist.*, Vol.1, p. 536,11 CSHB). Successive rulers, both Hellenistic and Roman, vied with each other to lavish their patronage on the place, adding a temple of Zeus, a theatre, a stadium and baths (Lib., *or.* XI,236-39). The well-to-do Antiochenes also built their villas there so as to be near the health-giving waters. This 'banlieue résidentielle' of Antioch became so well-known and admired that Antioch itself was sometimes referred to as 'Antioch by Daphne' (Strabo, *geog.* XVI,719).

Julian had looked forward to his visit to Daphne. While travelling through Asia Minor, he had written to his uncle Julian, the Count of the Orient (June/July 362), commanding him to re-erect the pillars of the temple of Apollo at Daphne, retrieving those that had been taken away to decorate imperial buildings or any private building which had now been confiscated for misappropriation of temple property by the owners. If there were still not enough, substitute pillars should be made out of baked brick and plaster, encased in marble (*ELF* 80, p. 96,15-21. See also *ibid.* 126d = *CJ* VIII,10,7. Cf. Festugière, 1959, 508-509).

However, besides being an important oracular shrine and a famous beauty-spot, Daphne was also a known venue for erotic pleasures. A combination of the sensual beauty of the place and the romantic nature of the foundation myth, the local Christian writers claimed, made irresistible the temptations of the flesh (Chrys., *de S. Babyla* XII/69, *PG* 50.552 and Soz., *h. e.* V,19,5-8). Avidius Cassius, one of the most able generals of the Antonine Era, forbade his troops to enjoy the delights of Daphne while they were stationed at Antioch in preparation for war against the Parthians (*SHA, Avid.Cass.* 6,1). The theatre at Daphne was also associated with the staging of the orgiastic rituals of a triennial Syrian May festival, the so-called Maiuma, celebrated in honour of Bacchus and Aphrodite (Malalas, *chron.* XII, pp. 284,21-285,11, cf. Robert, 1936, 1-16 and Robert and Robert, 1978, no. 522). The lascivious nature of some of the spectacles had earned the city considerable notoriety (Lib., *or.* XLI,16). The Maiuma, which

originally lasted for the entire month, had been shortened to five days by the time of Julian but was still celebrated with an ostentation which the emperor thought excessive (Jul., *misop.* 34, 362D). According to Libanius (*orr.* L, 16 and XLI, 16-17, cf. Misson, 1914, 146-147), the festival was for a while abolished by a 'good and prudent emperor' (probably Julian), but it was such a part of the Antiochene way of life that a 'purified' version was allowed to be celebrated after 396 at the request of the Syrians (CT XV, 6, 1-2, cf. *ELF* 102).

Julian's half-brother Gallus, a fanatical Christian, had transferred to Daphne the relics of a local saint and martyr by the name of Babylas in order to give the site a more sombre and reverent air (Soz., *h. e.* V, 19, 12-13 and Zon. XIII, 12, 39-40). This Babylas was little known as a martyr outside his native city and the historical circumstances concerning his martyrdom are somewhat obscure. According to Eusebius, (*h. e.* VI, 29, 4) our earliest witness, Babylas was bishop of Antioch under Gordian III (238-44) and suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Decius, (c. 250 *ibid.* 39, 4). In his account of the reign of the Christian (?) Emperor, Philip the Arab (244-49), Eusebius tells the story of how the sovereign was refused admission to the church by the then Bishop of Antioch for certain unconfessed sins and had to take his place among the penitents (*ibid.* VI, 34). Although Eusebius does not name the bishop, yet Leontius, bishop of Antioch from 348-57, was recorded as having ascribed this heroic act to Babylas and gave as Philip's main crime the instigation of the murder of his predecessor, the young Gordian III, whose Praetorian Prefect he was (cf. *orac. Sib.* XIII, 13-20, *SHA, Gordian* 26, 3-30, 9, Zos. I, 17, 2-19 and Ioh. Ant., *frag.* 147, *FHG* IV, p. 597 etc). Babylas, according to Leontius, was put to death by Decius in revenge for the insult suffered by his predecessor (*Chron. Pasch.*, s. a. 253, pp. 503, 18-504, 6, CSHB). He was buried with his chains and his place of rest became a monument to his piety and courage as well as a source of miraculous happenings (Chrys., *de S. Babyla* XI/63-66, *PG* 50.550-51) However the scantiness of our information on this martyr makes us suspect that he was little known, even in his native city, at the time of the translation of his relics by Gallus. The latter who would be remembered by the Christians for his construction of the martyrium of St. Mamas (at Macellum?) while still a young man (cf. Soz., *h. e.* V, 2, 12-13), might have erected the martyrium for the saint at Daphne as a simple act of piety. But, once established at Daphne, the presence of such an object of Christian veneration inevitably had a purgative effect on the festive atmosphere of Daphne. The devotees of paganism might have found the sight of throngs of hymn-singing worshippers venerating the bones of a dead man repulsive and became reluctant, therefore, to consult the oracle of Apollo. Furthermore, as we have already noted, the fear of sorcery-accusation was so great during the reign of Constantius that any form of mantic arts might have been seen as readily incriminating. As far as the

Christians were concerned, the dwindling number of oracle-seekers was a sign of the triumph of their saint and many believed, no doubt, that the oracle fell silent as soon as Babylas and his martyred companions were established in its neighbourhood (Soz., *h. e.* V,19,14).

Julian had hoped that the festival founded in honour of Apollo by the city of Antioch which was held at Daphne in August (*Lous*, cf. Malalas, *chron.* XII, p. 284,17) would occasion a public display of munificence and local patriotism. He himself had returned to Daphne especially for the festival from a visit to the temple of Zeus Kasios which is situated near the coast. He found on arrival that the celebration had been boycotted by the notables of Antioch, probably as an act of defiance against his excessive indulgence in the restoration of sacrifices and his municipal policy in general. The temple itself was still in a state of disrepair as his uncle was probably too preoccupied or lacking in resources to undertake the task of refurbishment as requested by him (Jul., *misop.* 15, 346B). None of the rich offerings, the colourful processions, choruses and libations he had hoped for was forthcoming, not even a single beast or cake. When he inquired what the city had intended to sacrifice to Apollo on this special occasion, the only priest answered that he had brought a goose from his own house and that the city itself had made no preparation whatsoever. Julian thought it disgraceful that a city as wealthy as Antioch should have so little to offer to one of her most famous local deities and duly delivered a thundering reprimand in the municipal senate (*boule*) comparing unfavourably the sumptuousness of the rich Antiochenes' hospitality to each other especially at the Maiuma with the public meanness to the traditional gods (Jul., *misop.* 34-35, 361C-363C).

Julian made several visits to Daphne, but, in spite of the lavishness of his gifts and sacrifices, he was unable to restore the oracle of Apollo to its former importance (*ibid.* 15, 346B and Soz., *h. e.* V,19,15-16). It was said that he even tried to reopen the spring of Castalia which had ceased to flow since the time of Hadrian as the water was regarded as possessing oracular powers. According to a local tradition, Hadrian, while still Governor of Syria under Trajan, after learning that he was to become emperor, had blocked the spring in order to prevent others from gaining the same information (Amm. XXII,12,8 and Soz., *h. e.* V,19,10-11). The spring was blocked most probably because it ran out of water and the reorganization of the water works at Daphne by Hadrian was carried out mainly to conserve water (Malalas, *chron.* XI, p. 278,2-6, cf. Wilbur, 1938, 52-53). The fact that the oracle had remained active until the time of Gallus shows clearly that it was little affected by the stoppage of the spring and Julian's action, if true, merely showed the extent of his desperation to revitalize Daphne as a centre of pagan worship and his gullibility to the advice of soothsayers. It was then suggested to the Emperor either by the oracle (via its priest) or by Eusebius, a local theurgist, that the site had been polluted by the presence of the dead,

especially the remains of Babylas although the saint was not implicated by name (Lib., *or.* LX,5, Soc., *h. e.* III,18,2, *Artemii passio* 53, p. 232, ed., Kotter = GCS Philost., pp. 88,12-89,9 etc.). This was a well conceived appeal to one who had constantly reproached the 'Galilaeans' for their veneration of dead bones (Jul., *c. Gal.* 335B/C, ed. Neumann, *CT IX*, 17,5 and *ELF* 136b). Julian duly ordered the place to be cleansed in the manner of Pisistratus, the Athenian tyrant of old, who removed all the bones buried near the temple of Apollo on Delos, and of the Athenians who in 426 B. C., removed all the sepulchres on the entire island and decreed that in future no one should either die on the island or bear a child but in such cases should be carried across to nearby Rhenea (Amm. XXII,12,8; cf. Hdt., I,64 and Thuc., III,104,1-2). The Christians saw the action of Julian as definitive confirmation of the posthumous power of the martyr and they managed to turn their compliance to the emperor into a show of strength. A large and fervent crowd conveyed the relics of Babylas to the city and sang the psalm with the defiant refrain: 'Confounded be all they that worship graven images and who boast themselves in idols.' (Soz., *h. e.* V,19,18-19, Chrys., *de S. Babyla* XVI/90, *PG* 50.558 and *Artemii passio* 55, p. 233, ed. Kotter = GCS Philost., p. 92,10-15). They replaced the relics in their former martyrdom within the bounds of the city and later a great church was built to house them. Meletius who was finally restored to his see in 378, took an active part in its erection, even labouring with his own hands in the heat of summer. On his death in 381 he was buried beside the martyr (Chrys., *de hierom. Babyla* 3, *PG* 50.533, Soz., *h. e.* VII,10,5 and Evag., *h. e.* I,16, p. 26,16-20).

This display of Christian recalcitrance infuriated Julian who immediately ordered the arrest and punishment of the ringleaders. He also forced the Praetorian Prefect (Orient) Saturninus Secundus Salutius against his will to take charge of the investigation. To demonstrate that a repressive policy would only produce martyrs and confessors, the Prefect tortured one young man by the name of Theodorus by hanging him on a rack and scourging him with iron nails for a whole day. The victim bore his suffering with equanimity and the Latin Christian historian Rufinus, who claimed to have met him later, tells us that the young man was comforted by a guardian angel throughout his agony (*h. e.* I,37, *PL* 21.504-505; cf. Soc., *h. e.* III,19,6-9). A pious widow and head of a religious community by the name of Publia who had the courage to sing Christian psalms against idols and the enemies of God within the hearing of the emperor was brought before a court and, despite her advanced age, was given a beating (Thdt., *h. e.* III,19,1-6).

Not long afterwards, a mysterious fire broke out in the temple of Apollo and destroyed the roof of the temple and the famous statue of the god. Count Julian who saw the fire hastened to the scene. His prompt

action might have saved the temple from complete obliteration. But, seeing that he was unable to prevent the famous statue from incineration, he scourged the officers in charge of the temple for dereliction of duty (Thdt., *h. e.* III,11,5). Julian was convinced that the fire was an act of arson committed by the Christians in revenge for the removal of the relics of Babylas. In response to this criminal act he ordered the closure of the Great Church of Antioch and the confiscation of its goods (Jul., *misop.* 15, 346B and 33, 361B/C, Amm. XXII,13,2, and Soz., *h. e.* V,20,5). His wrath also fell on the pagans whom he held responsible for what he considered to be a major lapse of security. According to the Christian sources Julian was of the opinion that the priest of Apollo was in connivance with the conspirators and was dragged before a tribunal. Though subjected to cruel torture he was unable to name anyone (Soz., *h. e.* V,20,5 and Chrys., *de S. Babyla* XIX/107, PG 50.563-4). We also learn from one of the letters of Libanius (*ep.* 1376, trans. *infra*, p. 81) that the Sophist was a member of a three-man tribunal charged with investigating the incident, the other two commissioners being Heliodorus and Asterius. The chief defendant was Vitalius who later became Proconsul of Asia under Jovian and who was probably a Christian (cf. Seeck, 1906, 314). Though acquitted as an innocent bystander, his release was met with considerable disapproval. Libanius also composed a doleful lament in the form of a monody on the destruction of the temple and the deleterious effect of the disaster on traditional religion. A copy of it reached Julian while on his way to the Euphrates and was received with warm compliments (*ELF* 98,400B, p. 157,7-9). The surviving fragments of the work (= Lib., *or.* LX, Foerster) have the gloomy air of a funeral dirge and had the work come down to us in its entirety, it would have been a fitting epitaph for Roman paganism (trans. *infra*, pp.71-77 and 80-81).

The Christians of Antioch were overjoyed at the fire which they believed to a man to have been a divine visitation and a warning to the apostate emperor. Rustics in the fields were said to have observed the flames coming down from the sky (Thdt., *h. e.* III,11,5 and Thphn., *chron.* A. M. 5854, p. 50,10-14). The fortuitous timing of the fire was seen as an immediate response to Julian's act of desecration and in later sources the events became telescoped, giving rise to the error that the fire took place on the night of the exhumation (see e. g. Cedrenus, *hist. comp.*, Vol. I, p. 536,15-17, CSHB). Caught somewhere between the cross-fire of accusations of arson and claims of divine intervention was a natural explanation to the origin of the fire. According to Ammianus (XXII,13,3), a philosopher friend of Julian called Asclepiades had come to visit him at Daphne and he was accustomed to carry with him a statuette of the Dea Caelestis. He placed it at the foot of the statue of Apollo and lit some candles before it and went away. After midnight, when no-one was around to keep an eye on them, some flying sparks alighted on the dry woodwork and set the roof on fire. Although Ammianus qualified the story as a slight rumour

(*rumore levissimo*) it accorded well with the failure of Julian to nail down the culprits and it was an explanation which, given the intense feelings expressed by both sides, was acceptable to neither and was therefore relegated to the place of hearsay (cf. Neri, 1985, 130-4 and Hunt, 1985, 196-7).

The destruction of the temple of Apollo signalled a fresh persecution of the church in which the emperor's orders were carried out by his uncle Julian, the Count of the Orient, and Felix, the Count of the Sacred Largesse, both converts to paganism, with a zeal which was greater than Julian had in mind and including even occasional acts of sacrilege (Thdt., *h. e.* III,12,1-4, Philost., *h. e.* VII,10, pp. 96,8-97,2 and *passio S. Theodoretii presbyteri* (Gk.) 8-9, ed. Halkin, pp. 147-149, (Lat.) 2, ed. Ruinart, pp. 605-607. Cf. the semi-ironical remark on the 'mild administration' of his uncle in Jul., *misop.* 37-8, 365C/D). (On the reliability of the near contemporary accounts of persecution under Julian see esp. Gaiffier, 1956, 7-18.) Both imperial agents died suddenly within a short space of each other that winter (362/3) and the manner of their death was described in the most horrific terms by Christian historians, gloating over yet another act of divine retribution (e.g. Thdt., *h. e.* III,13,1-5 and Philost., *h. e.* VII,10, p. 97,3-14). Later tradition linked their deaths to visions of Christ which they saw while they were carrying out the emperor's orders to close the Great Church (Thphn., *chron.* A. M. 5854, p. 50,14-23, ed. de Boor).

Seemingly oblivious to public criticism, Julian persisted with his now highly unpopular policy of reviving the traditional religions. He threw into the springs of Daphne a portion of his sacrifice in order that those who used the water might be partakers of the offerings with the gods. The Christians naturally regarded it as a form of profanation and their indignation was further roused when the Emperor ordered all food sold in the market to be sprinkled with lustral water. Food, however, was so scarce that most Christians, while mouthing indignation, were able to compromise with the Apostolic axiom: 'Eat whatever is sold in the meat market without raising any question on the ground of conscience.' (1 Cor. 10,25, cf. Thdt., *h. e.* III,17,2-3). Julian's lack of moderation with regard to pagan sacrifice alienated even some rank and file of the army - a body which had hitherto been staunchly loyal to Julian. Two officers, Juveninus and Maximinus, complaining one day about the state of affairs, quoted from the 'Song of the Three': "Thou hast delivered us to a lawless king, to an apostate beyond all the nations on the earth." (Add. to Daniel 3,32, LXX). They were denounced by an informer and Julian, casting aside his usual caution on the use of sycophants, ordered the officers to appear before him. They declared that they had always been obedient to the laws of the state and their only complaint was the profanation of food-stuffs. Julian showed exceptional anger towards the two men, perhaps because they were officers, and threw

them into prison. They resolutely refused the large bribes offered to them to change their minds and were executed (Thdt., *h. e.* III,17,4-9, Chrys., *pan. Juv.* 2-3, PG 50.572 *ad fin.*; cf. Lib., *or.* XVIII,199). The protest of these two officers might have given rise to the legend that another disgruntled soldier would ultimately be the divine instrument for the death of the apostate emperor (Soc., *h. e.* IV,21,13, Soz., *h. e.* VI,1,14, Greg. Naz., *or.* V,13, PG 35.680A/B and *Artemii passio* 69, p. 243, ed. Kotter = GCS Philost., pp. 101,30 -102,15).

Julian had been the subject of much lampooning ever since his arrival at Antioch because of his unprepossessing personal appearance and his ascetical life-style. He was ridiculed as a Cercops (people changed into Apes by Jupiter); as a dwarf, spreading his narrow shoulders and displaying a billy-goat's beard; and for taking mighty strides as if he were the brother of Otus and Ephialtes whose height was described by Homer (*Od.* XI,307ff.) as enormous. They nicknamed him a 'dealer in beasts of sacrifice' (*victimarius*) for his part in actually performing the ritual slaughter and they also made snide remarks at his being attended to by a band of female acolytes (Amm.XXII,14,3, Zon. XIII,12,35 and Chrys., *de S. Babyla* XIV/77, PG 50.555). After the pagans in Antioch had also been alienated by his harsh economic policy, more satirical remarks followed, mostly in the form of verses and ditties (Jul., *misop.* 37,364C and Lib., *or.* XVI,30). After the sudden deaths of his uncle Count Julian and Count Felix, the more irreverent elements of the Antiochene populace abbreviated the full title of the Emperor: D(ominus) N(oster) Claudius Julianus (Pius) F(elix) Augustus' into three words 'Felix Julianus Augustus', darkly hinting that he would be the next to go (Amm. XXIII,1,5). Some might have even believed in the efficacy of their barbed remarks and looked for signs of fright from Julian (Jul., *misop.* 10, 344B).

Towards the end of February, Julian published his reply in the guise of a self-satire on his beard entitled 'The Beard-Hater' (*Misopogon*) which he had posted outside the royal palace in the city at the Tetrapylon of the Elephants which served as an entrance to the palace (Amm. XXII,14,1 and Malalas, *chron.* XIII, p. 328,3-4). This extraordinary document takes the form of a literary dialogue between Julian and the people of Antioch and in it he denigrates his ascetic life style which was so unacceptable to the Antiochenes and ironically praises them for their effeminate manners, licentiousness and apparent lack of public spirit. Occasionally he resorts to direct reprimand and, in expressing his indignation against them, reveals much that is important about himself and his political and religious programme. As a satire, the tone of the work is too sombre and severe and it fails also as a piece of imperial propaganda as it gives the impression that he cared little for the city as a sovereign and was only interested in licking his hurt pride. (Cf. Gleason, 1986, *passim*, esp. 116-119.)

As soon as the weather was more favourable for campaigning, Julian left the Syrian capital for the Persian frontier (5 March, 363). The scene of his departure could not have been more different from the welcome he received when he entered the province eight months previously. A party of Antiochene notables who escorted the departing emperor was brusquely told that after he had completed his military task he would winter at Tarsus thus bypassing Antioch (Amm. XXIII,2,5 and Lib., *or.* I,132 and XVI,5,3). He gave as his reason for this major break with tradition his desire not to spoil the merriment of the Antiochenes with his dour presence (Jul., *misop.* 37, 364D) when in reality he wanted to shift "to a lesser town in condemnation of the behaviour of the greater (Lib., *or.* XV,55, trans. Norman)". He also confided to Libanius that he was turning his back upon a city that was "crammed full of every kind of wickedness - insolence, drunkenness, intemperance, impiety, greed and stubbornness (ibid. 56, see also idem, *ep.* 802,2)." His departing gift for the city was the appointment of Alexander of Heliopolis, a well known disciplinarian and fanatical pagan, as *consularis Syriae* (Amm. XXIII,2,3 and Lib., *ep.* 1411,1). The latter immediately set about tightening the public morals of the city and heaped abuses and warnings on the civic leaders both at municipal and provincial assemblies like a "river in full winter-flood" and made them, in the words of Libanius, feel like "Cimmerians, dwelling in the darkness of perpetual night (cf. Hom., *Od.* XI,14ff.) and that the sun would never shine on us again (*or.* XV,74, trans. cit.)." A delegation of Antiochene councillors later met Julian at Litarbae on the limes of Chalcis and tried to persuade him to change his mind, but to no avail (*ELF* 98, Lib., *or.* I,132 and XVI,1). The Antiochenes had to come to terms with a governor "whose threats alone could make the insolent industrious and well-behaved (Lib., *ep.* 811,1-2.)".

(4) John Chrysostom and the homily '*de S. Babyla, contra Julianum et gentiles*'

A witness to the traumatic events of Julian's visit to Antioch in 362/3 would have been John, the son of Secundus and Anthusa, who was then about fifteen years old (born c. 347). He would later rise to prominence as one of the best loved priests of his own city which he served for nearly two decades (381-98) and eventually to the pinnacle of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as one of the most celebrated patriarchs of Constantinople (398-404). Affectionately nicknamed 'Chrysostomus' (the golden-mouthed) for his eloquence as a preacher, he was reputed to have been a student of Libanius, the friend and admirer of Julian, and would have succeeded him as head of his school had he not become a Christian (Soz. *h. e.* VIII,2,2. See also Palladius, *dial.* 18, ed. Coleman-Norton, p. 28,6; cf. Fabricius, 1957, *passim*). His reputation as a theologian and as a writer of the Greek language has few rivals among the Fathers of the fourth century. He was also a controversial prelate whose attempts to reform the church at large embroiled

him in one of the most bitter power struggles seen in the new capital (cf. Liebeschuetz, 1984, 96-106, Baur, 1930, 194-357 and Gregory, 1979, 45-69). Among his many dangerous and powerful enemies was the Empress Eudoxia and it was finally at her insistence that her imperial husband Arcadius signed the edict of banishment against the patriarch in June, 404. This amounted to a death warrant as his health was poor and he died three years later while being forced to walk on foot in extremely hot weather to a new place of exile.

A prolific writer as well as a brilliant preacher, his extant works amount to one of the largest corpuses by a single author in classical Greek. They contain homilies covering a wide range of topics, works of biblical exegesis and liturgy as well as personal letters. Of particular interest to the historian of the reign of Julian is a long panegyric on St. Babylas (*de S. Babyla contra Julianum et gentiles*) which contains a polemical account of Julian's visit to Daphne as well as a criticism and refutation of some parts of the monody of Libanius on the burning down of the temple which we have already mentioned. In fact all the known citations of the latter have come down to us in this one work of Chrysostom. The traditional attribution of the panegyric to this great author has been questioned by some modern scholars mainly on the grounds of its somewhat unpolished style and its unusual length for a homily which was intended to be delivered from the pulpit on the anniversary of the saint's martyrdom. Moreover, the account of the martyrdom of Babylas in the panegyric reveals many historical oddities. While the majority report which we have already examined (*supra*, p. 48) maintains that the saint refused entry to the church to Philip the Arab for unexpiated crimes and later perished in the persecution of Decius, the version in the *de S. Babyla* seems to represent a further stage in the elaboration of the story in that it gives the emperor (unnamed) who felt aggrieved by Babylas' refusal as the same one who ordered his execution. His crime was not for the murder of the young Gordian III but his wanton and cruel slaying of the son of a foreign (Sassanian?) king who had been handed over as a hostage on the conclusion of peace (V-XI/23-62, PG 50.539-50).

The authenticity of the work has been ably defended more recently by Sister Margaret Schatkin who points out that the historical inaccuracies, if we could call them inaccuracies given the confused nature of the legend, do not invalidate the attribution of the work to Chrysostom - an attribution which was never challenged in the transmission of the text. They merely show that John adhered to a different version of the legend and there is nothing in his other writings to signify that he adhered to the majority report (cf. Schatkin, 1970, 478-81). The saint's martyrdom is mentioned in several other works of Chrysostom especially in a shorter homily, the *de S. hieromartyre Babyla* (PG 50.529-34) which gives a very similar account of

Julian's visit to Daphne and its authenticity has never been in doubt. The unusual length of the work can be explained by the intention of the author for it to be read as a polemical treatise rather than preached from a pulpit (cf. Schatkin, 1970, 475-7). Libanius himself composed many orations for imaginary audiences and the soliciting of instant response from them was a common rhetorical convention (*infra* p. 59, n. 2). As for the question of style one must bear in mind that the work was composed around 379/80 as it makes no mention of the new church built mainly at the initiative of Bishop Meletius to house the relics of Babylas. The building was started in the summer of either 379 or 380 and is mentioned in Chrysostom's *de S. hierom. Babyla* (*supra*, p. 50). There are grounds to suggest that the *de S. Babyla* was composed even earlier, most probably in 377-378. The mention of a gap of 'twenty years' since the events described (XXI/117, PG 50.567) is most probably a rhetorical round figure. Thus the work belongs to an early period of Chrysostom's literary career and the apologetic nature of the subject would have tempted him to experiment with his not yet fully developed powers of rhetoric. Sister Schatkin also draws our attention to numerous parallels in style, historical content and theological point of view between the *de S. Babyla* and other earlier authentic works of Chrysostom (cf. *ibid.*, 484-485). "If we deny this treatise to him", as she rightly reminds us (1967, 37), "we shall deny ourselves the interest of an early product of Chrysostom's eloquence, which enables us to estimate more exactly his entire literary development."

The treatise *de S. Babyla* begins with a brief prologue which lays down the main theological and polemical theme of the work. The power of Christ to perform miracles was a unique testimony to the truth of Christianity and this power was bequeathed by Our Lord to his disciples who used it to prevail over demonic forces. The lofty moral precepts of the church ensured the victory of Christianity over paganism which demanded such obscene practices as human sacrifice (I-V/1-23, PG 50.533-9). We then come to the first of the two parts of the main body of the work which the author calls the 'ancient account', namely the story of the martyrdom of Babylas. His heroic action and selflessness testify to the moral superiority of Christianity and the apostolic freedom (*parrēsia*) enjoyed by the saints. Furthermore the fearlessness he exhibited before imperial authority shows that Christianity, because it possessed the truth, could thrive under persecution while paganism, once deprived of state-support, would decay like a body stricken by a wasting disease. His desire to see the emperor repent is on a much higher moral plane than the advice given to sovereigns by pagan philosophers such as the well known jibe of the Cynic Diogenes to Alexander who came to visit him to move away as he was shading him from the warm sun (V-XI/23-63, cols. 533-50). The death of the saint was not the end of the story, his body and the chains with which he was buried, became a relic which had a miraculous soothing effect on those who mourned at the saint's

tomb (XI-XII/64-66, cols. 550-1). The best proof of the miraculous powers of the relics of course was the effect on Daphne after they had been transferred there by Gallus. They not only replaced the customary revelry of the place with sobriety, they also silenced for good the oracle of Apollo (XII-XIII/67-74, cols. 551-4).

Julian's unsuccessful attempts to revive the oracle, his forcible eviction of the relics from Daphne and the subsequent fire and resultant persecution of the Church formed the main theme of the 'modern account' (XIV-XXIII/75-127, cols. 554-72). Chrysostom's task as polemicist could not have been easier. The Daphne/Babylas episode was a major propaganda set-back for Julian and revealed a major weakness in his policy to revive paganism, namely his grudging admiration for Christianity. In the letters which he wrote as *pontifex maximus* to the chief priests of Asia and Galatia, he had shown a strong awareness of the defects of paganism especially in its lack of philanthropic provisions and ascetic organization when compared with Christianity (ELF 84-89). He was particularly impressed by the hospitality which the Christians were able to offer to pilgrims and other travelling co-religionists through the establishment of guest-houses (*xenodochia*). He went to the extent of making special provisions to allow the priests in Galatia to provide for strangers and it did not escape the Christians that he was trying to graft some aspects of Christianity onto paganism (ELF 85, pp.114,6-115,9 and Soz., *h. e.* V,16,4). His decision to order the removal of only the bones of Babylas and not those of the companions buried alongside the saint was a major error of judgement as it was a tacit acknowledgement of the special powers of the relics of the saint and of the fact that the removal was not merely an ordinary act of purification (Jul., *misop.* 33, 361B: "I sent away *the corpse* from Daphne...", see also Lib., *or.* LX,5, p. 315,2, ed. Foerster, trans. *infra*, p. 72; cf. Hunt, 1985, 193-4). This was mercilessly exploited by Chrysostom in his treatise as it demonstrated beyond all else that Julian actually believed in the posthumous power of the saint (XVI/87-89, cols. 557-8). The coincidence of the fire was simply too good to be true. The emperor's failure to pin the charge of arson on someone proved the ineffectiveness of the oracular powers of Apollo and reaffirmed the divine nature of the fire. The half-burnt temple which stood open to the sky was a salutary warning to supporters of paganism of the nature of divine providence. To show that the charred columns were no reminder of the temple's former glories, Chrysostom cited some sections of Libanius's lament (which hint strongly at arson) and dismissed them as drivelling nonsense (XVIII-XIX/98-109, cols. 560-4). The diatribe against Libanius, his chief literary influence and very probably his principal teacher of rhetoric in his youth (cf. Chrys., *ad viduam* 2, PG 48.601) is of particular interest. Though mild in tone in its attack on the person of the Sophist when compared with Jerome's satirical remarks on his erstwhile friend Rufinus, it nevertheless shows how far Chrysostom had

distanced himself from the ideals espoused by his mentor and the extent of his debt as a Christian polemicist to his pagan rhetorical training (cf. Festugière, 1959, 409-10 and Wilken, 1983, 118-38, esp. 130-31). The fire was seen as a divine warning to Julian to desist from his religious policy. The failure of his Persian expedition and his death on the field of battle were the natural consequences of his arrogance (XX/109 *ad fin.*, col. 564ff.).

(5) Editions etc.

The standard as well as the most easily available edition of the Greek text of the *de S. Babyla* remains that of Bernard de Montfaucon (Paris, 1738) which is reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* Vol. 50, cols. 533-572. Due to the excessive length of the treatise, only a long excerpt from the 'modern account' covering Julian's visit to Daphne and its immediate aftermath is translated here. The text from which the translation is made is found in J. F. D'Alton ed., *Selections from St. John Chrysostom* (London, 1940) pp. 50-63 with the reinsertion, from the Migne text, of a few lines (inadvertently?) omitted from p. 56. The text of D'Alton is in essence a reproduction of that of Montfaucon with some modifications in punctuation. A critical text of the entire treatise edited with notes in Latin by Sister Margaret Schatkin is available through University Microfilms Ltd. (68-3704). It forms part of the editor's Doctoral thesis which was successfully submitted to Fordham University in 1967. In her edition the text is divided into shorter sections and as she will be publishing it in *Sources Chrétiennes* in the very near future, we have given her numbering of the chapter divisions in Arabic numerals and those of Migne in Roman for ease of reference to both editions.

Sister Schatkin's own excellent annotated translation of the whole treatise became available to me only after the First Edition of this work had gone to press. (Cf. *Saint John Chrysostom Apologist.*, Fathers of the Church, Vol. 73, Washington, D. C., 1984, pp. 75-152.) Her introduction contains a full and valuable critical study of the various literary traditions on the martyrdom of Babylas (pp. 46-70).

TRANSLATION

XIV/75 It seemed at first, then, that this¹ had been the cause of his (i. e. Apollo's) silence. Subsequent events, however, proved that his lips had been sealed by a grim imperative. For a most compelling fear held him back as if on tight rein and prevented him from offering false guidance to mortals as was his custom. "Where is your proof?"² Please do not clamour. I shall proceed to that very demonstration: after which even those who are thoroughly accustomed to speak impudently will not be able to do so, neither about the events of old, nor about the power of Babylas, nor indeed the helplessness of the god. For in fact I shall not rely on conjecture or supposition in proving my case, rather I shall put forward instead the testimony of the god himself. He it was who dealt you a mortal blow, who struck down your freedom of speech. But do not vent your anger on him: he did not despoil his own rights voluntarily but under the duress of a force superior to his own.

76 How then did this come about and what was the occasion? After the death of the Caesar,³ who had ordered the transfer of the relics of Babylas to Daphne, he (i. e. Constantius) who had formerly granted him (i. e. Gallus) his power, put forward his brother as successor in sovereignty. Henceforth Julian mounted the throne without assuming the diadem, for such was the limit of the authority of his dead brother.⁴ Sorcerer and blackguard that he was he had at first pretended to profess the Christian faith, out of regard for him who had given him his power.⁵ But as soon as his benefactor died Julian cast aside his mask⁶ and all its trappings and thereafter barefacedly flaunted for the world to see all those impious superstitions which he had previously concealed. He despatched throughout the empire ordinances

¹ I. e. the suppression of sacrifices to the god by the Christian emperors.

² A similar appeal by C. to an imaginary audience can also be found in his *quod nemo laeditur* (I, PG 52.461) which, like this treatise, was not intended to be delivered orally.

³ Flavius Claudius Constantius Gallus (PLRE, i, 224-5) was appointed Caesar by Constantius II on 15 March, 351 (Hieron., *chron.*, s. a. 351 GCS) and was dismissed and executed at the order of the same emperor in 354 for his excessive cruelty and his mismanagement of the affairs of the eastern provinces, especially those of the metropolis of Antioch. Cf. Amm. XIV, 11, 19-23.

⁴ Constantius was compelled by overwork and the fear of impending catastrophe on the western frontier to summon J. from his studies and to appoint him Caesar. This was supported by his wife Eusebia but opposed by many who believed that the title of Caesar should be avoided, having seen what happened under Gallus. Cf. Amm. XV, 8, 1-2.

⁵ J. remained a nominal Christian until his break with Constantius. See above, Introduction, p. 41ff.

⁶ Cf. Soc. h. e. III, 1, 39 and Soz., h. e. V, 1, 2.

requiring pagan shrines to be refurnished with their statues, their altars to be rebuilt, the traditional honours to be accorded to the gods and numerous revenues to be assigned to them from everywhere.⁷

77 As a result there came from every corner of the world a whole host of magicians and enchanters, diviners, augurs and mendicant priests⁸ - a workshop of every sort of trickery.⁹ Even the imperial palace was bursting at the seams with fugitives from justice and men of infamy! Some were previously on the verge of starvation,¹⁰ some had been convicted of sorcery or villainy and others were inmates of prisons or working in the mines, others were scratching a scant existence from shameful employments, all these were transformed in a trice into priests and hierophants¹¹ and loaded with every conceivable honour. As for the generals and provincial governors Julian cast them aside as of no account.¹² Then he summoned all

⁷ On the edicts for the restitution of pagan temples see the documents cited in *ELF* 42. The word here translated as 'revenues' (πρόσοδοι) can also mean 'processions' and is used by Libanius (*or.* XVIII, 126) with that meaning in a similar context.

⁸ I. e. *menagyrtes*: priests of Cybele (so-called after the goddess had acquired lunar attributes, cf. *metragyrtes*) who made the rounds of begging visits and were sometimes regarded as quacks or mountebanks. Celsus, the famous pagan polemicist of the second century, compares Christians to the 'begging priests of Cybele and soothsayers' (*ap.* Origenes, *c. Cels.* I,9, p. 61,12, GCS) because of their willingness to believe without rational thought.

⁹ Most contemporary sources agree that J. was addicted to the mantic arts and was a victim of unscrupulous sooth-sayers. Cf. *Amm.* XXII,1,1 and 12,7, and *Thdt.*, *h. e.* II,3,2-3 GCS. On the behaviour of his followers see also *Greg. Naz.*, *or.* V,18-19, pp. 328-30, ed. Bernardi. The best-known member of J.'s retinue was the theurgist Maximus of Ephesus. J. threw protocol to the winds and greeted him personally in the midst of a trial when he arrived at Constantinople for a visit to the new Emperor (*Amm.* XXII,7,3, *Lib.*, *or.* XVIII, 155-6 and *Eunap.*, *v. soph.* VII,3,16 and 4,1).

¹⁰ This pathetic description of the condition of the pagan priesthood is probably no exaggeration as the laws of Constantius against paganism were harsh (e. g. *CT* XVI,10,2 *et seq.*). At the accession of J., the seers, according to Libanius (*or.* XVIII, 126) "heaved a sigh of relief." The emperor himself was deeply shocked by the sight of "temples in ruins, their rituals banned, their altars overturned, their sacrifices suppressed, their priests sent packing and their property divided up between a crew of rascals." (*ibid.*, 23, trans. Norman).

¹¹ I. e. those 'who teach the rites of sacrifice and worship, and especially of the expounders of the mysteries at Eleusis and elsewhere;... C. employs the term with a certain note of contempt.' (D'Alton, 1940, 67).

¹² Rejected here is the interpretation given by Montfaucon: "Et Imperator duces ac praefectos missos faciebat,..." 'Παραπέμπετο' here must mean 'to take no heed' or 'to dismiss'. For two contrasting views of J.'s appointments to provincial governorships see

the licentious men and the prostitutes from the establishments in which they presided and carried them in procession with him all around the city and through the backstreets. The Emperor's horse and the whole imperial bodyguard followed at a discreet distance while the pimps and madams¹³ and the whole immoral troop formed a circle of which the emperor was the hub and in this manner proceeded through the public places, hurling obscenities and shrieking with laughter in a manner wholly to be expected from those in that walk of life.

78 I know full well that these things, excessively ridiculous as they were, will seem quite incredible to posterity, for not even a private citizen from amongst these base and degraded ranks would have chosen to disgrace himself publicly in such a manner. But to my contemporaries what more need I say? For there are witnesses present amongst us who can vouch for what I am saying.¹⁴ Indeed I make mention of these events while the witnesses are still alive, lest anyone should accuse me, in bringing up these old events before a fresh audience, of arrogantly falsifying the facts. Among the witnesses to these events there are both young and old: and I appeal to every one of them, if I have exaggerated anything in my account, to come forward and refute me. But no, I cannot be accused of extravagance only, indeed, of omission, for the fact of the matter is that one cannot, in a treatise such as this, portray the full excesses of such infamous conduct. To our incredulous descendants I would say only that the deity whom you worship under the name of Aphrodite is not ashamed to be served by worshippers such as these.

79 It is then neither wonderful nor surprising if that wretch, who has totally surrendered himself to the ridicule of the gods should feel no shame in rendering to these same gods the devotions by which they set such store. As

Lib., *or.* XVIII, 158, Greg. Naz., *or.* V, 19, 5-13, ed. Bernardi, p. 330 and Ioh. Ant., *frag.* 179, *FHG* IV, p. 695.

¹³ J. was criticised even by his supporters for being attended to by a throng of women of dubious morals - the trappings of pagan rites which he so sedulously revived (Amm. XXII, 14, 3). Christian polemicists had no doubt that J. used the pagan rituals as a pretext for illicit liaisons with cultic prostitutes (cf. Greg. Naz., *or.* V, 22, 9-12, ed. Bernardi, p. 336). J.'s chastity however was rarely doubted by those who knew him. Cf. Mamertinus, *grat. act.* 13, 3, see above p. 24, Amm. XXV, 4, 2-3 and Lib., *or.* XVIII, 179.

¹⁴ Later in the treatise (XXI/117, PG 50.567) C. gives the time gap between Julian's visit and the composition of the treatise as approximately twenty years. It is very probable that C. was a witness of some of the events related to the removal of the relics of St. Babylas.

for the calling up of ghosts and the sacrificial butchering of infants,¹⁵ what can one say about such things? All these abominable rites, endured before the birth of Christ, firmly suppressed after His Advent, all these horrors this man reintroduced - admittedly in secret (for even though he was emperor and did everything with despotic power, still the overwhelming wickedness of his misdeeds confuted even the magnitude of his despotism) - but nevertheless they were being practised.

XV/80 Now Julian was a constant visitor to Daphne, his hands full of offerings and accompanied by a multitude of sacrificial victims:¹⁶ and after having them slaughtered in a horrific welter of blood he would importune the god, demanding in return a reply from the oracle and an answer to the problems that were on his mind. But that noble one (i. e. Apollo) who, as the saying goes:

'knows the sum of the grains of sand and the waters of the sea,
who knows the thoughts of the silent and hears the speech of
the dumb,'¹⁷

was nevertheless restrained from stating clearly and explicitly that it was the holy Babylas and the force which resided in his neighbourhood that had curbed his speech, and prevented him from uttering his oracles, for he was afraid of becoming a laughing stock amongst his devotees. Desirous, indeed, of concealing his weakness, he invented a pretext for his silence - a pretext which only laid him open to even more ridicule than if he had indeed remained silent! For in that way he would have revealed only weakness, whereas his attempt to hide it laid bare not only a lack of power but also his impudence and unseemly behaviour in trying to gloss over the patently obvious.

81 For let us consider this pretext that he gave. Daphne, he says, is a place filled with the dead:¹⁸ it is this which prevents me delivering my oracles. Would it not, indeed, be far better, wretched god, to admit the influence of the martyred Babylas than to promulgate such bare-faced excuses? Such,

¹⁵ On the accusation that J. practised human sacrifice see above, Introduction, p. 46.

¹⁶ Ammianus remarks in jest that had J. survived the Persian War, there might have been a shortage of cattle for sacrifice (XXV,4,3). See also Jul., *misop.* 15, 346B and Soz., *h. e.* V,19,15-16.

¹⁷ An adaptation of the famous oracle given to Croesus, the King of the Lydians. Cf. Hdt. I,47. On this see Coleman-Norton, 1932, 216.

¹⁸ Babylas was buried with the young men who suffered martyrdom in his company. Cf. Thdt., *h. e.* III,10,2 GCS and *Art pass.* 55, ed. Kotter, 233 = GCS Philost. p. 92,2-4. See also Soz., *h. e.* V,19,16-17 who agrees with C. in asserting that the oracle did not specifically name Babylas as the cause of its silence.

however, was the response of the god: whereupon the senseless Emperor, as though playing in some stage comedy role, lit straight upon the relics of the saintly Babylas. Oh defiled and wholly defiled! If you and Julian were not deliberately deceiving each other and acting out your roles in the destruction of others, why, oh why, Apollo, did you speak so vaguely and unspecifically of corpses, without naming names, and why did you, Julian, as if you had heard some specific name mentioned, think to remove only the remains of the holy one, his and no others? According to the oracle you should have torn up every single grave in Daphne and removed this bogeyman as far as possible from the sight of the gods!

82 No, you say, for the oracle did not in fact refer to all the dead. Why, then, did he not explain himself more clearly? Or is it that he left it to you, acting out your little drama of deceptions, to solve the enigma? - I myself, he says, am speaking of corpses in general, so as to conceal my helplessness: and, apart from that, I am afraid to identify the holy one by name. You, Julian, must interpret my meaning, and before all others remove the bones of the saint for it is he alone who has sealed my lips. The mental derangement of his devotees was so well known to the god that he judged them incapable of seeing through even so transparent a deception. Yet, however much out of their minds they were, however much transported by delirium, they could not escape the acknowledgement (of their god's) helplessness, manifestly obvious as it was to all. For if, as you say, the mortal remains of man are a defilement and a pollution, how much more so are the remains of animals, since the animal species are of a lower order than that of man. Now it so happens that there are many burials of dogs, of apes and even of donkeys round about the shrine. Should not these, rather, have been disinterred and removed lest, according to you, men should be ranked lower than the apes?¹⁹

83 Where are you now, then, and what have you to say, you who insult the sun, that marvellous handiwork of God, created for the service of mankind, naming that awesome heavenly body in the same breath with this miserable god and claiming the one to be the other?²⁰ For this very same sun bathes the whole world with his warmth, though the ground everywhere is filled

¹⁹ C.'s argument here is that the burial of animals was also a source of defilement to the sacred precinct and yet J. chose to remove only the remains of Babylas.

²⁰ A reference perhaps to Helios, the Sun-God who was by then commonly identified with Mithras and also associated with the stars. Cf. *CIL* VI, 754. J.'s devotion to a Platonized form of Mithraism, once taken for granted by scholars (see e. g. Bidez, 1930, 221-222), is now a major area of contention. See esp. Turcan, 1975, 105-128, Athanassiadi-Fowden, 1977, *passim* and *eadem*, 1981, 41-42 and 174-5, and Smith, 1986, 164-256.

with the burial dead, nor is any part of the earth deprived of his life-giving rays for fear of defilement.²¹ What is more, this god of yours, far from rejecting and holding in abhorrence men of shame, sorcerers and murderers, positively prefers and welcomes such as these. Yet he turns in revulsion from the remains of the dead? Indeed, the essence of evil is acknowledged even by those practising it to merit wholehearted condemnation, but a dead and lifeless corpse deserves no kind of blame or censure. Yet this is the policy of your gods, to abominate that which is most worthy of honour and to honour and cultivate that which most deserves to be abhorred and rejected.

84 No indeed, an honest man will not be deterred from any worthy scheme of action nor from honouring any of his obligations by the mere presence of a dead body. For as long as he retains a sane and healthy soul he will comport himself with seemliness and moderation, a model of all the virtues even though he should be living in the midst of a graveyard! Every craftsman will work undeterred at his own proper trade and will attend to the exigencies of his calling, not merely if he is surrounded by the dead but even if he should be required to construct the very tombstones of the departed.²² Similarly artists and sculptors, carpenters and metal workers each and everyone pursue their trade: only Apollo, he maintains, is prevented by the dead from foretelling the future.

85 Indeed there have been among us many great and illustrious men, who fourteen hundred years ago foretold the future for us and not one of them has complained or laid down conditions for his prophecies. Not once did they demand that the graves of the dead should be torn up and the bodies laid therein discarded, nor did they devise a new and shameful form of grave-robbing. Now some of these prophets lived amongst godless and wicked peoples, others amongst barbarian races, where all, in very truth, was abomination and pollution, yet these same prophets spoke no less truly, nor did the contamination of others prevent their prophecies.²³ And why was this? Because these men were in very truth inspired to speak as they did by the power of God, whereas your god, empty of that power and deprived of

²¹ Apollo was cursed in similar fashion by Creusa in Euripides, *Ion* 885-922.

²² "In this passage, C. emphasises the fact that artisans can engage in building monuments (μνῆματα) over the dead without harm to themselves, while Apollo alone cannot ply his trade as diviner owing to the presence of the dead." (D'Alton, 1940, 68).

²³ The prophets alluded to here are probably Amos (or Hosea), and Jeremiah (or Ezechiel). Cf. Schatkin, 1967, 64. The same contrast between the willingness of the heroes of the Old Testament to proclaim the divine message under adverse circumstances and the reluctance of Apollo to speak because of the proximity of Babylas' corpse is made by C. in *de S. hierom. Babyla* 2, PG 50.531-2.

it, could prophesy nothing, and in order to hide his embarrassment was compelled to utter instead incredible and ridiculous excuses.

86 Why then, tell me, has Apollo at no time until this present moment made any such demand as this?²⁴ It is because in the past he could explain that his cult was being neglected, but now that he is deprived of this defence he has fallen back on the excuse of being afraid lest he should come to some harm through the presence of the dead. He had no wish so to disgrace himself, but you forced his hand, lavishing your attentions upon him through worship and devotion and so removing his pretext of the shortage of sacrifices.

XVI/87 In response to these demands, Julian, acting his part in the comedy, ordered the removal of the sarcophagus: a move which had the effect of displaying the god's helplessness before the eyes of the whole world. For if Apollo had spoken along these lines:

"It is the holy one who prevents me uttering my oracles, but do not disturb his remains, do not make any more commotion,"

then only his devotees would have been in his confidence and they would have been too ashamed to share it with others. In the event, since he was busily parading his own failure, he forced the whole thing prematurely into the open so that even those who wished to could not conceal what was happening. In fact it was no longer possible to keep up the pretence since the martyr alone was removed from there and none of the other corpses. Thus it was that the townspeople and the inhabitants of the suburbs and villages round about, not to mention visitors from distant places could no longer discover Babylas' sarcophagus lying there, and when they asked the reason why they were speedily informed that when the emperor asked the god for a prophetic utterance the god replied that he could not comply until the relics of the saintly Babylas were removed from his vicinity.

88 And yet, O ridiculous divinity, you could have taken refuge in other prophecies, of the sort you have made many times before, ingenious as you are at inventing a thousand ambiguities to extricate yourself from embarrassment! As, for instance, when you told Croesus the Lydian that if he crossed the river Halys he would bring down a great empire: a prophecy which he proved for himself only too well on his funeral pyre!²⁵ You employed the same device again with reference to the Battle of Salamis when you made that farcical prediction, for to say:

²⁴ Viz. that there should be a clearance of corpses.

²⁵ Cf. Hdt. I,53,3 and 91,4 - one of the best known of the ambiguous pronouncements made by the ancient oracles. The version here is much closer to that cited by Aristotle in *ars rhet.* 1407A. Cf. Coleman-Norton, 1932, 216.

"O divine Salamis, you will destroy the children of women" was in a similar vein to what you said to the Lydian, but to add to that:

"When the corn is either being sown or reaped,"²⁶ is an oracle fit for a joke, ripe for the telling by layabouts on the street corners! But that was not what you wanted. It was easy for you to mask your pronouncements with obscurity since this was always your special skill. But not all your audience understood you and they would return and press you for an explanation. And you could take refuge amongst the stars,²⁷ as indeed you have often done, and without so much as a blush of shame.

89 For your words are not addressed to men of sense, but to senseless brutes and those even more irrational than brute creation. For they (i. e. Julian and his entourage) were no wiser than the Greeks who listened to you and were still deceived. But what of this present deception of yours? Could you not at least have confessed the truth for your priest's ears alone? For he would have found some better way to gloss over your defeat. Who, then, persuaded you, unfortunate one, to make so public an acknowledgement of your shame? Perhaps the fault was not yours but rather that of the emperor who, on hearing a vague reference to corpses, misinterpreted it as referring only to the blessed Babylas. Yes indeed, it was he who betrayed you, who exposed your trickery, involuntarily no doubt, since the same man would hardly honour with costly dedications the same god he then went on to insult. It was rather the all-powerful influence of the holy martyr that blinded everyone totally and prevented them from seeing plainly what was happening. While everything was being devised for the confusion of the Christians the ridicule rebounded on the schemers rather than their victims! In just the same way we find madmen for ever struggling to avenge themselves on those around them, drumming on the walls with their feet and cursing at random anyone who should come their way: but in thinking to insult those about them they disgrace only themselves. So it happened on this occasion.

90 The sarcophagus of the martyred Babylas was carried away on its long journey and the saint returned, like a victorious athlete wearing a second

²⁶ Cf. Hdt. VII,141. C.'s source for this oracle and the one concerning Croesus may have been Eusebius who cited both with similar adaptation in his *praeparatio evangelica* (V,20,10, and 24,2, GCS).

²⁷ A jibe perhaps at the equally ambiguous predictions of astrologers. On Julian's devotion to astrology and theurgy see also Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,31.6-8, ed. Bernardi, p. 128, and comm. *ad loc.*

crown, to his own city, whence he bore away the first one.²⁸ Wherefore, if there should still be any infidel who doubts the resurrection of Jesus Christ let him only behold and be confounded from henceforth by the wondrous prodigies which the martyr wrought after his death. Like one who excels in valour he gathered to himself trophy upon trophy: to great deeds he added greater and to acts of heroism he added others of yet brighter lustre. For when alive he strove against the sole person of an emperor: now, in death, against an emperor and a god. Then he drove the supreme ruler from the sacred precincts of the church, now he has purged of corruption the entire suburb of Daphne, not by his mere physical presence, as then, but by overpowering the invisible (evil force) by an invisible power. When alive, Babylas' freedom of censure was intolerable to the murderous prince, so after his death, neither the emperor nor the god who inspired his actions could resist the influence of those remains.²⁹

91 We must conclude, then, that Babylas dumbfounded these later adversaries with an even more overwhelming terror than he did his earlier enemy. For on that occasion his enemy seized and bound him and made of him a martyr: those others merely transferred his mortal remains. Why therefore the one (i. e. Apollo) did not command and the other (i. e. Julian) did not wish to throw the sarcophagus into the sea? Why was his tomb not demolished or destroyed by fire? Or why did he not order its removal to some foreign and deserted place? For if it (i. e. the sarcophagus) was a pollution, and a miasma, then, he should have ordered its removal in disgust rather than in fear, nor should he have allowed the stain to enter within the city but should have outlawed it to some mountainous (and inaccessible) region!

XVII The wretched one (i. e. Julian), however, recognised no less than Apollo himself the strength of the saintly Babylas and his boldness before God, and he was in mortal fear lest mishandling of the relics should loose a thunderbolt about his head or call down upon him some other painful affliction. (92) For, indeed, he had before him striking evidence of the power of Jesus Christ which had been displayed not only over those emperors who had preceded him but also among those who had recently been associated with him in government. Amongst those who preceded him, and who dared to persecute Christianity can be numbered some who after a multitude of unbearable misfortunes ended their days deplorably and

²⁸ The image of the martyr as a victorious athlete is well-established in early Christian writings. See e. g. *Martyrium Pionii*, 22,1-2 ed. Musurillo. Cf. Lieu, 1984, 125-126.

²⁹ On the various traditions concerning the martyrdom of Babylas see above Introduction, pp. 48-49.

shamefully.³⁰ Maximinus, for example, whilst still enjoying life to the full, suffered the horror of having his eyeballs fall spontaneously from their sockets.³¹ Another became a raving madman³²; yet another, after suffering the same appalling fate, died as a consequence of it. As to those who were contemporaries of Julian, his paternal uncle (*sic.*)³³ indulged his obsession against us with an even more insolent violence, for he dared to lay impious hands on our sacred vessels, nor was he satisfied with this blasphemy, but carrying his insolence to ever greater lengths he not only overturned and hurled to the ground our consecrated vessels but beat them flat and sat on them. The punishment for this seat of ungodliness was swift! For his secret parts withered and swarmed with maggots. Then, proving the malady was god-sent, when the physicians sacrificed fattened and exotic birds and placed them near the putrified limbs while they invoked the maggots to come out, they refused and held fast to the festering parts. So he was painfully gnawed to death over a period of time. Another who was appointed in charge of the royal treasury³⁴ while he was about to step over the threshold of the palace suddenly burst asunder in the middle, he too paying the penalty of some other transgression of a similar kind. Remembering these terrible punishments, (and indeed one can recall even worse than these, though this is not the place to catalogue them all) the defiled one (i. e. Julian) was fearful of carrying his impious boldness too far.

93 That this is not just a matter for conjecture on my part will be clear to us from what happened to him later on: meanwhile let us proceed with the sequence of events. For what happened next? Behold the miracle which reveals not only the power of God but his inexpressible love of men. The

³⁰ The belief that persecutors of Christianity died lingering and painful deaths as a result of their impiety was held by most Christian writers of the fourth century and is the main theme of the polemical treatise *On the Death of the Persecutors (de mortibus persecutorum)* by Lactantius (ed. and trans. J. L. Creed, Oxford, 1985).

³¹ Schatkin (1967, 69) argues that the name of Maximinus (cf. *PLRE*, i, 579-60) is a later insertion into the text. On the manner of his death in Christian accounts see esp. Lactantius, *de mort.* 49,3, ed. Creed, p. 74 and Eus., *h. e.* IX,10,3-15. See also Greg. Naz., *or.* IV,96,2-6, ed. Bernardi, p. 240 and comm. *ad loc.*

³² According to Eusebius (*h. e.* VIII,13,11), the persecuting emperor Diocletian (*PLRE*, i, 253-254) had to retire into private life because of mental illness.

³³ I. e. Julian, who was Count of the Orient, 362-3 (see above, Introduction, p. 44). His manner of death is oft repeated by C. in his writings and sermons as a salutary warning to would-be persecutors of the Church. In fact he was Julian's maternal uncle. See references given in *PLRE*, i, 471 (Julianus 12).

³⁴ I. e. Felix, who was made Count of the Sacred Largesse in 362 (see above, Introduction, p. 52). His death is usually depicted by C. alongside that of Count Julian. See the references in *PLRE*, i, 332 (Felix 3).

holy martyr was reposing once more within the sacred precincts where he had been laid previously, before he was removed to Daphne.³⁵ But the unhappy god soon realised that his wily artifices had been in vain and that the struggle was not with a dead body but with a living and moving spirit, triumphant not only over Apollo himself but over all gods. For Babylas prayed that God would send down fire upon the temple of Daphne: whereupon fire indeed destroyed the whole of the roof and consumed the idol right down to its feet, leaving nothing but a heap of dust and ashes: and of the whole temple only the walls were left standing.

94 A visitor to the site as it is now would certainly not say that what happened was the work of fire: for the destruction was not haphazard nor as if it originated from some inanimate material but rather as if some hand was guiding the flames to destroy some parts and spare others. Indeed, the temple was burned out skilfully and systematically, not like buildings burnt out in the usual way, but like those retaining its principal walls and lacking only its roof.³⁶ For the rest, here are all the columns still standing which supported the main roof and the porch, except only one of those which enclosed the rear chamber and even this column was not shattered accidentally at the time of the fire, but for a purpose we shall presently mention.³⁷

³⁵ The relics of Babylas were temporarily reinterred in a public cemetery outside the city used by Christians (cf. *Artemii passio* 55, p. 233, ed. Kotter = GCS Philost., p. 92,14) - i. e. his original place of burial prior to the translation of his relics by Gallus to Daphne. After 381, the relics found a permanent repose in the cruciform church on the right bank of the Orontes which was built specially to house them. See above, Introduction, p. 50. The reference here to his temporary place of burial helps us to date the treatise to a period before 381. Cf. Downey, 1938, 45-48, idem, 1961, 415 and Lightfoot, 1889, 44-6, n. 6.

³⁶ C.'s description of the burnt out remains of the temple is corroborated by Soz., *h. e.* V,20,5 and *Artemii passio* 56, p. 234, Kotter = GCS Philost., p. 94,2-7. Ammianus (XXII,13,1), Theodoret (*h. e.* III,11,4 GCS) and Zonaras (XII,12,42), however, all imply that the temple was completely destroyed. Despite the fire at the temple, Daphne itself remained an important venue for pagan festivals. The news of J.'s death reached Libanius when he was celebrating there (Lib., *or.* XVII,22).

³⁷ C. explains later in the treatise (XXI/114-XXII/118, PG 50.566-7) that the flames only consumed the statue of Apollo and the roof over it because the anger of God was directed only at the demon. The rest of the temple was spared as a sign to J. that he could escape personal punishment through conversion. The roofless but standing columns were a more enduring testimony of divine justice and love than if J. were to have been struck down by lightning - an incident which would soon be forgotten (ibid. XXI/114-5, PG 50.566). The one broken column at the back of the temple, though precariously perched against the wall had nevertheless not fallen (ibid. XXI/117, PG 50.566).

95 After this terrible affair, the priest of Apollo was brought before the magistrate and ordered to name the person responsible.³⁸ Since he was unable to comply his hands were bound behind his back and copious blows were rained upon him, yet even though they strung him up and flogged him to the point of shredding the flesh from his ribs they learned nothing more. What follows next puts us in mind to some extent of the resurrection of Christ. For on that occasion soldiers were detailed off to guard the body of our Lord in case, as the Evangelist says, it should come to harm through being secretly removed by the disciples.³⁹ Yet the resurrection of Christ came about, and in such a way as to remove every shred of an excuse from those disbelievers who seek to disparage and cast doubt upon it. In this case, similarly, they dragged the priest of Apollo before a magistrate in the hope that he would bear witness not to an act of heavenly vengeance but of human wrong-doing. Yet tortured and broken as he was and having nothing to tell them, he proved the fire to be of divine origin, so that even the most blatant disbelievers were finally silenced.

96 Now at last it is opportune for me to expound the point which I have put off previously. It is this, that the holy martyr had so shaken Julian to the core with terror that he did not dare to pursue his impious ways any further. He would not, on account of the (loss of the) roof, have so ill-treated the priest of Apollo, whom he had previously held in such honour, he would not have torn him to shreds like some ravaging beast, even to flaying the flesh from his bones, if the matter had not been universally recognised as a crime of exceptional magnitude. Nor would he have ordered the return of Babylas, whose power had silenced his god, back to the city of Antioch, where he would receive even greater respect and honour. If he had not had the courage to assail our religion previously, when the god confessed his defeat, would he not, after the fire, have reduced everything to ruins, destroying and burning the sarcophagus and both martyria of the saint, that of Daphne and that in the city itself,⁴⁰ if it were not that his fear proved stronger than his anger and that his terror governed his cowardice? For the

³⁸ On the trial and torture of the unfortunate priest and the investigation into the fire see above, Introduction, p. 51.

³⁹ Cf. Matt. 27,64 ff.

⁴⁰ The clause 'and both shrines ... in the city itself' (τὸ μαρτύριον ἑκάτερον, τό τε ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ, τό τε ἐν τῇ πόλει) appears to be an interpolation as there were unlikely to have been two memorials to the saint in 362. The latter seems to be a reference to the cruciform church which was completed after 381 which, though situated on the right bank of the Orontes, was commonly referred to as 'in the city itself.' The clause also sits uncomfortably in the sentence as it is not grammatically in direct apposition to the previous object of the verb (i. e. τὴν λάρνᾶκα). In the following paragraph (§ 97), C. refers to only one *martyrium* of Babylas. Cf. Schatkin, 1967, 73.

majority of men, when driven by anger and distress, seize upon anyone whether just fortuitously or by reason of suspicion, whether they are authors of their troubles or not, and vent their anger upon them regardlessly. Nor could the holy martyr escape Julian's suspicion: the moment he was received once more within the city of Antioch fire struck at the temple at Daphne.⁴¹

97 But, as I said, passion fought with passion and fear extinguished anger. Consider, then, the feelings of that foolish emperor on going into that suburb of the city and gazing upon Babylas' shrine, still standing, and nearby the temple of Apollo, a burnt out shell, the idol annihilated, the offerings destroyed, the memory of his splendour and devilish pomp completely effaced. Even if Julian could swallow his rage and fear at the sight he could not have borne the subsequent shame and the endless ridicule. Would he not have stretched out sacriligious hands towards the shrine of the martyr were he not, as I have said, restrained by fear? It has been no trivial event, it brought a sudden halt to the outrageous licence⁴² of the pagans, depressing their spirits and enveloping them in such a cloud of hopelessness and confusion that one would have imagined all the temples in the world to have been destroyed!

XVIII/98 In order to prove that not one word of my account has been exaggerated, I shall now put before you the text of a monody, a lament for the god composed by the one who was at that time the sophist of the city (i.e. Antioch).⁴³ The introduction to his mournful plaint begins as follows (= Lib., *or.* LX,1, ed. Foerster):

"Fellow citizens, over whose eyes as over mine, has fallen the shadow of grief, no more let us speak of Antioch the fair or Antioch the great."

Proceeding next to recount something of, and to justify, the legend of Daphne (I am reluctant to go into it in any great detail here because of its

⁴¹ C. has wrongly compressed here the two events. The fire took place sometime after the translation and not immediately. See above, Introduction, pp. 50-51 and Lightfoot, 1889, 43-4, n. 5.

⁴² The word *παρρησία* translated here as 'licence' is also used by C. to indicate the 'freedom of speech' or 'boldness of spirit' enjoyed by Christians, especially holy men, through their special relationship with God. For a good example of the contrasting usage of the word by C. in the same treatise see *ad pop. Ant. hom.* XVII,2, PG 49.173-4. See also the important discussion by Festugière (1959, 274-6) on C.'s definition of true and false *παρρησία* where examples from the *de S. Babyla* are cited.

⁴³ I. e. Libanius. Cf. *ELF* 98, 400B, p. 157,7-9. The work also bears some resemblance to the same sophist's monody on the city of Nicomedia (= *or.* LXI, ed. Foerster) which was composed soon after the disastrous earthquake which wrecked the city in Aug. 358 (Cf. *Amm.* XVII,7,8 and Lib., *ep.* 35,1-2 = *ELF* 7).

excessive length) he says that the king of the Persians,⁴⁴ when he captured Antioch, nevertheless spared the temple of Apollo. In his own words he says (= *or.* LX,3):

"This general, leading an army against us, nevertheless thought it better to preserve the temple and the beauty of the statue quelled his barbaric rage. But now, O sun, O earth, who or whence is this overbearing enemy, who, without heavy troops, without cavalry, without light troops has destroyed everything with a tiny spark?"

And going on to prove that the saint triumphed over the god just when the pagan cult with its sacrifices and ceremonies was at its height, he says (= *or.* LX,4):

"No, it was not that terrible cataclysm⁴⁵ which threw down our temple: it fell beneath a clear sky, after the clouds had cleared away."⁴⁶

In speaking of storms and cataclysms he is, of course, referring to the reign of the earlier emperor. Going on a little further his lamentations become more shrill and bitter, for he says (= *or.* LX,5):

"All that time when your altars were thirsting for the blood of sacrifice you never ceased, Apollo, to be the true and faithful guardian of Daphne: it was a time when you bore with equanimity the contumelious treatment and neglect of the outside world: yet now when you are overwhelmed with sacrificial sheep and bulls,⁴⁷ when even the imperial lips have touched your feet, when you have before you the one you have foretold, and are in turn seen by him who has been proclaimed, when you have been relieved of the evil proximity of a certain corpse which so troubled you from close by. Now, I say, of all times, you have been stripped and exiled from the midst of

⁴⁴ I. e. Shapur I (regent 240-242 and Shahanshah 242- c. 272; cf. Henrichs and Koenen, 1970, 125-32) who captured Antioch in his 'Second Campaign' against the Roman Empire in 252. Cf. *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Gk.), line 15, ed. Maricq, 1958, 311, *Amm.* XX,11,11, and XXIII,5,3, *Lib.*, *orr.* XI,158, XV,16 and XXIV,38, *Eunap., vit. soph.* VI,5, *Malalas, chron.* XII, pp. 295,20-296,10, *CSHB* etc. On dating see Balty, 1988, 103. The commonly held belief that Shapur captured Antioch for a second time in his 'Third Campaign' (260?) (see, e. g. Downey, 1961, 252-261 and 587-595) rests on very slim evidence. Cf. Potter, 1985, 338-339.

⁴⁵ Constantius had banned sacrifices on pain of death. Cf. *Lib., or.* I,27, XXX,7, *CT* XVI,10,4-6 and also Noethlics, 1971, 62-9. On the Christian appropriation of pagan temples see the excellent study of Fowden, 1978, esp. 58-62. See also Hanson, 1978, 257-61. The family of Thalassius, a Christian friend of Libanius, who had converted a temple in Phoenicia into a private house, were forced to rebuild the temple under Julian. (*Lib., ep.* 1364,7; cf. SeECK, 1906, 289-90 and Liebeschuetz, 1972, 43.)

⁴⁶ A reference to the religious toleration under Julian.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Jul., misop.* 34, 361D-362A and *Amm.* XXII,12,6.

your worship. How shall we now take pride in and extol your cult amongst those who cherish the memory of rites and statues?"

99 What is this you are suggesting, lugubrious orator that you are? Apollo dishonoured and brought low yet still the true and faithful guardian of Daphne! That same Apollo who, still replete with honour and sacrifices could not even summon the strength to protect his own temple although he knew that its fall would bring him into still worse disgrace than before? And whose is this corpse, O Sophist, which causes such inconvenience to your god? What is this evil proximity you speak of? For the course of his argument leads him naturally to the valour of the saintly Babylas, and, not being able to swim clear of the disgrace of it all, he fell into dissimulation, trying to brush it off by saying that his god was harassed and afflicted by Babylas, but not adding that in his anxiety to hide his defeat, Apollo actually dragged it out into the open, for he plainly says: "Apollo was relieved of an evil proximity". Why, pray, wind-bag sophist, do you not put a name to this corpse and tell us why it alone offered a threat to your god, and for what reason that corpse alone should have been transferred elsewhere? On what grounds tell me, do you accuse Babylas' remains of being an evil proximity? Is it because he revealed the deceitfulness of your god? But this is not the work of an evil thing, much less of a corpse, but of a living being, so tireless and powerful, a patron and a guardian sparing nothing that you should all be saved, if that should be your desire.

100 You should, therefore, no longer continue to deceive yourselves, claiming that Apollo, because he was irritated at the lack of sacrifices and complaining at the neglect of his cult, removed himself of his own free will. It was to end such deception that the martyr who drove him from this place, this place so dear to his heart, honoured by his presence above all others, to the point that, even under neglect, he continued to make it his abode. For this is what you presumed to say: "Just at that time when the emperor was sacrificing in his honour great numbers of sheep and bulls"? All the evidence points to the conclusion that Apollo was compelled to leave Daphne, under the pressure of a force mightier than his own. It was perhaps possible that Babylas would banish the god yet leave his statue still in place, except that you would not have believed that Babylas was the author of the miracle, just as you did not believe it when he reduced him to silence, but instead continued in your devotion. This is why he at first left the statue untouched, so that subsequently he could topple it, just at that moment when the flame of impiety was burning brightest: thus demonstrating that the proper moment for the winner to win is not when his enemies are half defeated already but when they are up in arms and full of vain glory.

101 Why, you may ask, did Babylas not inspire the prince (i. e. Gallus Caesar), who brought him to Daphne, to demolish the temple of Apollo and

remove the idol, just as the god sought the removal of Babylas' relics? The answer is that Babylas was not inconvenienced by Apollo, nor had he any need of living allies, but overthrew the god both then and now without human agency. About his earlier victory the saint did not make any revelation: he silenced the god and there let the matter rest.

102 Such is the way of saints: they desire only to bring to a successful issue only those matters leading to the salvation of mankind, yet not to make public to the masses that the successes are theirs unless there should be some compelling need; by need again I mean the solicitude of those being saved. Such was the case of that occasion. For it was when the scheming one began to succeed that the saint's victory was revealed to us at last and revealed not by the victor but by the vanquished. Even so this evidence was unsuspected by his enemies, for the saint was reluctant to expound his miraculous achievements even though the need was there. When not even at this did the consequences of error abate, but instead those who were more insensible than stones persisted in invoking the vanquished one (i. e. Apollo) and in being blind to so manifest a truth, then he (i. e. Babylas) was compelled to visit fire upon their graven image so that by excising this impure growth he would cut away the growth of idolatry throughout the world.

XIX/103 Why, then, do you censure the god for being, as you pagans say yourselves, "stripped of honours when the cult was at its height"? It was not a voluntary retreat: indeed he was banished by an influence superior to his own, unwillingly and under compulsion, just at a time when he would have most wished to remain, not least for the sake of the rich sacrifices and aroma (of all those burnt offerings). For one would have thought that Julian reigned for this purpose only, namely to get rid of all the animals of the world, so lavish was the massacre of sheep and cattle on the altars of the temple!⁴⁸ Indeed he carried it to such frenzy that a great many of those among them who still appeared to be philosophers came up with crude nicknames for him, such as "cook" and "butcher" and so on.⁴⁹ Now clearly the god would not have willingly withdrawn himself from such an abundant table, with its aromas and smoke and torrents of blood, when he was content to remain there even without them, as you yourself admit, for the sake of his abiding passion for a girl.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ See above p. 46 and p. 62, n. 16.

⁴⁹ Cf. Amm. XXII,14,3 and Lib., *orr.* XII,80-82 and XVIII,126-9.

⁵⁰ On the legend see Lib., *or.* XI,94-5 and Chrys., *de S. Babyla* XII/68, PG 50.551-2. Schatkin (1967, intro., p. 46-51 and text, p. 49) argues that C.'s account may have been derived from the monody of Libanius on Daphne (i. e. *or.* LX).

104 But let me interrupt our discourse for a moment to quote again from the lamentations of the sophist. Here he turns aside from Apollo and addresses his dismal complaints to Zeus (= *or.* LX,6):

"See how our weary spirit, O Zeus, has been torn from its place of repose! How peaceful a place is Daphne: and more especially the temple as if made by nature itself as a safe haven within a haven. Both are calm and unruffled but the latter offers still the greater tranquillity. Who in that place would not shed his infirmities, his fear and his sorrow? Who there would still yearn for the Isles of the Blessed?" ⁵¹

But what place of repose, accursed sophist, have we in reality lost? How can you extol the profound peace and tranquil calm of a temple which resounds to the din of flutes and drums? Where drunkenness and revelry go hand in hand? What visitor, you ask, has not shed all infirmities there? I would rather demand of you instead, who amongst the visitors to that place, even amongst those in the full bloom of health, has not emerged a prey to illness, and that the most deadly ailment of all? For the visitor who comes to pay reverence to the god learns of the legend of Daphne and of the violent passion of the god, so violent that, when his beloved was swallowed up, he remains bound to the place and to the (i. e. laurel) tree. How then, I ask again, can any visitor avoid being touched by this flame of madness? What storms, what troubles may not be aroused in his breast? What sickness? What suffering? Is this your conception of a tranquil resting-place for the soul? Is this a safe haven, a release from affliction? But why should we be surprised at this clashing of opposites? For madmen can never interpret events in their true light, but cast their votes instead for unreality.

105 "The Olympian festival is not far away", says the Sophist, for I am returning yet again to his lamentations in order to prove how great a blow fell upon the pagan population of the city and that the emperor would not have borne it with such restraint, but would have wreaked the whole fury of his revenge on Babylas' relics if he had not been reined back by an overriding fear. What then does he (i. e. the Sophist) have to say? (= *or.* LX,7-10):

"The Olympian festival is not far off⁵² These celebrations will summon together the inhabitants of every city. They will come bringing beasts for sacrifice to Apollo. What shall we do? Where

⁵¹ See above p. 32, n. 58.

⁵² An Olympic festival was due to be celebrated at Antioch in 364. Cf. Lib., *or.* LIII, 26 and *ep.* 1314,3. See also Downey, 1939, 429-50 and Petit, 1955, 135. On the Olympic stadium at Daphne see also Lib. *or.* X,25-31 (trans. Downey, 1961,692-3) and XI,236.

shall we hide ourselves? What god shall split the ground asunder for us? Where is the herald, where the trumpet that shall not move us to tears? Who shall give the name of festival to these Olympian games, cast into mourning as we are by our newest tragedy? Give me a bow tipped with horn, as the tragedy says;⁵³ but I say, give me a measure of prophetic inspiration as well so that with the one I may capture and with the other shoot the author of our misfortunes. O reckless deed of impiety! O vile spirit! O rash and insolent hand! This arrogant criminal is another Tityos⁵⁴ or an Idas,⁵⁵ brother of Lynceus, yet neither a giant like the former, nor, like the latter, skilled in bowmanship, but knowing only one thing well, this villain - how to spend his fury against the gods. You yourself, Apollo, struck dead the sons of Aloeus,⁵⁶ when they plotted the overthrowing of the gods, yet this man who brought the fatal spark from afar, no arrow launched from your hand has sought his breast. O treacherous hand!⁵⁷ O fire unjust!⁵⁸ Where did the spark fall first? What was the overture to this tragedy? Did the flames first seize upon the roof spreading thence to every corner, even to the head of the divine statue, the face, the sacrificial bowl, the head-

⁵³ Euripides, *Orestes* 268, where Orestes asked for the "horn-tipped bow, the gift of Loxias".

⁵⁴ Tityos was a giant of Euboea and father of Europa. At the instigation of Hera he made an assault on the Titaness Leto. For his punishment he lay outstretched on the ground while two vultures tore at his liver (Hom., *Od.* XI, 576-81).

⁵⁵ Son of Aphraeus and brother of Lynceus, Idas is a colourful figure in Greek mythology. He fought against Apollo for his bride Marpessa and took part in the expedition of the Argonaut. He was killed by Zeus for grievously wounding his brother. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, I, 151-5.

⁵⁶ I. e. the giants Otus and Ephialtes. They imprisoned Ares in a bronze vessel for thirteen months (Hom., *Il.* V, 385-7). They also attempted to climb up to heaven by piling mountains on each other but were killed by Apollo (Hom., *Od.* XI, 305, 20). J. was mocked by the Antiochenes as the brother of Otus and Ephialtes because of the large strides he took when he walked (Amm. XXII, 14, 3, see above p. 53).

⁵⁷ The Greek word translated here as treacherous is *τελχινος* from the Telchines, the earliest inhabitants of Crete and Rhodes, who had a reputation for treachery and perfidy as well as for their skills in magic and metal work (Diod. Sic. V, 55, 1-3). Cf. *PW*, s.v. 'Telchinen', esp. cols. 207-10. They were generally regarded as enchanters who produced, when they pleased, clouds and rain and were said to be invidious in teaching their arts. Gregory of Nazianzus also uses the same metaphor in his invective against J. (Cf. *or.* IV, 101.5, ed. Bernardi, p. 250).

⁵⁸ The apostrophe of the fire in this fragment bears strong stylistic resemblance to Lib., *or.* LXI (*monodia de Nicomedia*), 12, ed. Foerster.

dress,⁵⁹ the long robe that draped his feet? Hephaestus himself, dispenser of fire, could not rebuke the menacing flames, indebted to Apollo though he was for his former advice.⁶⁰ Nor even did Zeus himself, who holds the reins of the storm-clouds in his hands, pour down the waters to quench the inferno, though he extinguished the pyre for Croesus, the unfortunate king of the Lydians.⁶¹ How did he first address him, then, this adversary invoking war? Whence came his impious daring? How could he persist in his fury? How could he not recant his decision, in awe at the beauty of the god? "

How long will it be, unhappy and miserable sophist, before you open your eyes and admit that no hand of man committed this deed? How long before you cease to contradict and battle with yourself, as do those who have lost their wits?

106 Your god, you say, turned from his course the king of the Persians at the head of his vast army, with the city already taken, its other temples already destroyed and torches at hand in preparation for setting alight this very temple of the god himself - for this is indeed what you said in lament at the beginning of your monologue. Let me quote you (= *or.* LX,2):

"The king of the Persians, ancestor of him with whom you are now at war,⁶² after taking the town by treason, and setting fire to it, went to Daphne and was preparing the same fate for it when the god intervened to change his plans and the king threw away his torch and offered homage to Apollo: to such an extent did the god's appearance reconcile and mollify his temper."

If, as you say, this same god was powerful enough to prevail over a barbarian's fury and a mighty army, if he had, what is more, previously proved his ability to ward off danger - when, according to you, he shot the

⁵⁹ Foerster reads *κίθαραν* (a lyre) for *κίδαριν* (a Persian head-dress). This certainly has the support of ancient authorities which describe the famous statue as depicting Apollo as the leader of the Muses and holding a lyre. See e. g. *Artemii passio* 52, ed. Kotter, p. 231 = GCS Philost. p. 87,24.

⁶⁰ Son of Zeus and Hera, Hephaestus is the god of fire in Greek mythology, especially in its manifestation as a power of physical nature in volcanic activities. Like Vulcan he was also associated with metal-work. The reference here is to the Song of Demodocus in Homer (*Od.* VIII, 266-358) which tells of the unfaithful Aphrodite and her lover Ares being ensnared by Hephaestus who had been warned of the affair by Apollo.

⁶¹ Croesus was saved after praying to Apollo (not Zeus) by a downpour of rain which drenched the flames of the pyre to which he was fettered. Cf. Hdt. I,86-87 and 91-92.

⁶² J. was then about to embark on a war with Shapur II (Shahanshah from 310-381).

sons of Aloeus when they plotted the overthrow of the gods - how is it that a deity such as this, armed with such powers, could not on this occasion achieve a comparable victory?

107 It behoved him, if nothing else, to take pity on his own priest, so unjustly tortured, by clearly identifying the guilty author of the fire. Indeed, if the arsonist managed to escape from the scene at the very time when the unfortunate priest was being suspended from hooks and having the flesh flayed from his back, and even so not being able, when interrogated, to name the culprit, (Apollo) ought to have come to his aid and produced the culprit, or, if he could not produce him, at least to have revealed his hiding-place.⁶³ But in fact this ungrateful and inconsiderate god cared nothing for his priest so unreasonably tortured, nothing for the emperor made a laughing stock after he had made so many offerings of sacrifices! The whole world mocked at Julian and held him to be crazy and out of his mind for venting his rage on that unhappy priest.

108 Furthermore, how comes it about that this god who could predict the presence of a king while he was still afar off (for you made this point earlier on in your lament) did not see and identify one who was so near at hand and, what is more, in the act of firing his temple? You claim, do you not, that Apollo is skilled at prophecy? Indeed you attribute various skills to your different gods as you do with mortal men, and yet you do not ask the one whom you have bestowed prophecy to share his skill with you.⁶⁴ Why, then, did he know nothing of what was happening around him, when even a mortal man could grasp it? Was he perhaps asleep when the fire started? Surely he was not so insensible as not to wake up immediately the flames reached him, and thus to apprehend the criminal? Truly: "The Greeks are always children: there is not one old man amongst them".⁶⁵ Would it not be more proper in you to bewail your own folly, that when events shout aloud the dishonesty of your gods, you still refuse to reject them? Instead you deliver yourselves up to destruction, and careless of your own salvation, you are led, like sheep, wherever he bids you go thither you follow, you who sit listlessly bewailing the destruction of the idols!

⁶³ Later sources assert that some of the priests died of torture as a result of J.'s attempt to extract information on the fire. Cf. Cedrenus, *hist. comp.* Vol.1, p. 536,19-20, CSHB.

⁶⁴ The gift of prophecy was allotted to Apollo by Zeus when the latter distributed various honours among the gods.

⁶⁵ An adaptation of Plato, *Timaeus* 22B.

109 And you (i. e. Libanius) demand a bow, just like that certain character in the tragedy!⁶⁶ What plain and simple folly to expect to achieve something with weapons which had done little good to one who always possessed them. Are you claiming to have greater skill and experience of archery than Apollo himself? Then you ought not to honour him, since he must be clumsier and weaker than you in the very sphere where you claim him to be supreme! But if Apollo yields his place to no-one as an archer and a prophet, how can you with your small share of skill hope to achieve what he in his supremacy cannot?

But all your arguments are mere ridiculous and futile nonsense. Neither did he (i. e. Apollo) have any power to tell the future, nor even if he had would he have accomplished anything. The burning of the temple was caused not by a human hand, not by a human hand, I repeat, but by a divine power.

⁶⁶ See above n. 53.

APPENDICES TO PART II

(A) Libanius, *Oratio* LX,11-14 (Foerster)

Later in the same homily (*de S. Babyla* XX/112, PG 50.566) Chrysostom cites and refutes three further passages from the monody of Libanius on the temple of Apollo at Daphne. They give a detailed and vivid account of the fire itself and they are translated here to complete the collection of the surviving fragments of this lost oration:

11. Friends, my soul is drawn towards the figure of the god, and imagination projects its shape for me before my eyes, the gentleness of form, the tenderness of the neck expressed in stone, the girdle about the breast holding in the golden tunic, so that part of it sits close to the body and part hangs loosely. What soul, however turbulent, would not be calmed by its whole concept? For he seems to be singing a melody. And once someone even heard him, they say, strumming his lyre in the middle of the day. O what fortunate ears! The song was clearly in praise of the earth. On which, as well, he seems to me to be pouring a libation from a golden cup, for the reason that the earth, gaping open and closing up again, had swallowed and concealed the maiden [i. e. Daphne]...

12. A passer-by raised the alarm as the fire broke out, but Apollo's mistress, beloved resident of Daphne, was thrown into panic. Beating of breasts and a piercing scream of distress, penetrating through the wooded precinct, fell upon the town, a terrible and frightening sound, and the Governor, his eyes but recently full of sleep, rose from his bed at the dire news. Beside himself with rage and demanding the wings of Hermes, he rushed forth to discover in person the cause of the disaster, himself smouldering within no less than the temple. Meanwhile the main beams were collapsing, spreading the fire, destroying everything within reach, the statue of Apollo straightaway, since it almost reached the roof, and then the rest, the lovely figures of the Muses, the likenesses of the founders, the gleaming of the marble, the full glory of the columns. A crowd of spectators gathered round lamenting but powerless to help, which is the lot of those who, watching a shipwreck from the land, can only help by shedding tears over the event.

13. The Nymphs, to be sure, raised a great cry of grief, leaping from their founts, as did Zeus, dwelling somewhere nearby, as would be quite likely in view of the honours of his son being violated, as did also the innumerable throng of spirits dwelling in the sacred grove, nor was the lamentation of Calliope, from the centre of the city, any less at the injury done by fire to the chorus-leader of the Muses....

14. Let it fall now to me, Apollo, to be as Chryses made you when he cursed the Achaeans, full of rage and dark as night, for while we were giving you back your sacrifices and restoring whatever had been pillaged, our object of worship was snatched away beforehand, like a bridegroom departing when the weaving of the marriage garlands had already begun.

(B) Libanius, *epistula* 1376 (Foerster)

This epistle, addressed to Heliodorus (cf. Seeck, 1906, 166) has been associated with the Daphne incident since the first modern edition by Wolf (A. D. 1736) of the letters of Libanius (no. 1436). The exact circumstances of the trial mentioned and the precise identity of the parties involved, other than that of the defendant Vitalius (cf. *PLRE*, i, 971), are not known. Moreover a number of details given in the letter are open to conflicting interpretation because of its extreme brevity and the vagueness of its style. Cf. Seeck, 1906, 314 and Petit, 1955, 207. The letter is not mentioned in the account of the incident by Sievers (1868, 98), nor is it listed by the same scholar under the letters composed by Libanius in 363 (*ibid.*, 306-7).

To Heliodorus

1. I thought that Vitalius had escaped from his problems, on that day when you and I and Asterius decided that he was innocent; but some people, who are neither country folk nor priests, are making trouble by attacking him again and setting out to damage him financially in any way they can, while we, on the other hand, are now being insulted by those who then judged him not guilty. 2. Certainly, if they are now right in censuring us he was wrongly shown to be innocent of the charge. But, perhaps, it was not those who passed the judgement who were wrong, but rather those who refused to make a distinction between the people who started the fire and those who were merely onlookers. 3. Restrain them, therefore, and admonish them and do not permit them to send such letters, so that the gods may rejoice that they are caring for souls rather than shrines. Do not be surprised at receiving such a request from us; for, being a man of principle yourself, it is natural that you should be invoked by us over matters of principle.

(C) *Artemii passio* 51-57

(Flavius?) Artemius, *dux Aegypti* under Constantius, was tried and executed by Julian in Antioch on charges of maladministration brought against him by the Egyptians. Among the charges would undoubtedly have been his use of troops against the angry populace of Alexandria when he ordered the seizure of the temple of Sarapis (*Amm.* XXII, 11, 3 and 8, *Thdt.*, *h.e.* III, 18, 1, *GCS* and *Jul.*, *ELF* 60, 379A/B; cf. *PLRE*, i, 112). Though he

died the death of a criminal and little was known about his life from contemporary sources (cf. Dummer, 1971, 124-132), he was celebrated as saint and martyr by the Byzantine Church (feast day on 20 Oct.). His main claim to sainthood was the role he played in translating the relics of the Apostles Andrew, Luke and Timothy from lands beyond the Danube to Constantinople during the reign of Constantius, a task which brought him the ducate of Egypt as reward (*Art. pass.* 16-18, pp. 210-212, ed. Kotter, cf. Gaiffier, 1970, 26). His own relics were translated to Constantinople probably at the beginning of the sixth century and deposited in the Church of St. John the Forerunner. He soon became one of the leading 'medical saints' of Byzantium and his relics were responsible for curing many from hernia and other diseases which afflict the genitalia or the varix (cf. Baynes, 1911, 266-267, Delehaye, 1925, 32-38, Janin, 1953, 58 and 433-434 and Magoulias, 1964, 130-143). His cult was already well established when, sometime before the ninth century, a full length account of his life and martyrdom was compiled. The authorship of the *Artemii passio* (BHG 170-171c, CPG 8082) is attributed in some manuscripts to a certain John of Rhodes (who is otherwise unknown) and in others to John of Damascus, the great theologian of the eighth century who wrote in Greek in Palestine which was then under Arab rule. The *Artemii passio* is a work of pious fiction as the author, whichever John it was, appears to have little real knowledge of the historical Artemius. No mention is made in his work of the Sarapis incident and the reason given instead for his execution is his out-spoken opposition to Julian for the horrible treatment the emperor had meted out to two Christians, Eugenius and Macarius (*Art. pass.* 35, pp. 221-222, cf. Gaiffier, 1956, 15-16). His support for Arianism is also conveniently overlooked in this pietistic account (cf. Baynes, 1937, 27-28). Despite its fictional and hagiographical elements, the *Artemii passio* has long been regarded as an important source for the study of the political and religious history of the fourth century because its author used as one of his main sources for historical background the now mostly lost church history of Philostorgius (c. 368 - c. 439). The work of this important Arian church historian has come down to us mainly in the form of a long summary made by Photius (c. 810 - c. 895), the famous Byzantine scholar and controversial Patriarch of the Iconoclast Controversy. The sections in the *passio* on Julian's visit to Daphne (51-57) are particularly full and are clearly derived from Philostorgius as can be shown by comparison with the relevant parts of Photius' summary (VI,7-9, GCS Philost., pp. 86-94) and with the article on Babylas in the *Suidas* (ed. Adler, i, pp. 445.14-446.19) which has also borrowed direct from the now lost full version of Philostorgius' work (cf. Bidez in GCS Philost., pp. LXIX-LXX). The sections furnish a detailed description of Daphne as well as an account of Julian's visit which belongs to a different historiographical tradition from that of the other ecclesiastical sources. This account links the fire with the performance of sacrifice which comes intriguingly close to the explanation which Ammianus (XXII,13,3)

passes over as a 'lightly founded rumour'. The following translation is made from the newly published critical edition of the *passio* by the late Bonifatius Kotter in the fifth volume of the collected works of John of Damascus in the series *Patristische Texte und Studien* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 231-234. See also the older critical edition of these sections in Bidez's admirable GCS edition of the fragments of Philostorgius (*loc. cit.*) which is accompanied by detailed references to other sources.

51. Julian duly set off for the suburb of Daphne, as I have already said (*supra* §49), preparing sacrifices to Apollo and expecting to receive oracular responses from him in return. Daphne is a suburb of Antioch, situated on a plateau within the city's territory, shaded with every kind of grove as the place is dense with wood and fruit. For in this location an extraordinary mass of every kind of tree and especially cypress has sprung up, incomparable in beauty, height and size.¹ Streams of crystal-clear water run everywhere, for a considerable number of springs gush out there,² with the result that the city seems to have been one of a few with a more than adequate water-supply.³ The place was nicely adorned with splendid buildings - villas, baths and others, constructed both for use and for adornment. There were also temples and statues of other pagan deities and especially that of Apollo which had been worshipped from ancient times. For it was here that pagan mythology fashioned the incident which befell the virgin Daphne, and it seems mainly from her that the place has derived its name.

52. The statue of Apollo had the following features. His body was carved out of vine-wood with consummate skill so that its outward appearance has a coherent unity. The surrounding mantle (πέπλος) was gold-plated and it harmonised in a kind of indescribable beauty with the parts of his body which were left naked and without gold. The statue stood with a lyre in its

¹ Cf. Lib., or. XI,236: "... and (*sc.* at Daphne) there pours upon the spectator's eyes an arresting brightness, the temple of Apollo, the temple of Zeus, the Olympic stadium, the theatre which furnishes every pleasure, the number and thickness and height of the cypresses, the shady paths, the choruses of singing birds, the even breeze, the odours sweeter than spices, the stately aqueducts, the vines trained to form banqueting halls -... (trans. Downey, 1959, 678)". The cypress groves at Daphne which symbolised the cult of Apollo became the target for Christian bigotry in the reign of Theodosius and in 387 (cf. *PLRE*, i, s. v. 'Anonymus 61'), Libanius (*or.* I,255) had to protest against a Christian *comes Orientis* who tried to market the timber. Cf. Downey, 1961, 436, n. 127.

² Cf. Lib., or. XI,240-243 (trans. Downey, *ibid.*, p. 678).

³ Cf. *Ibid.* 244; "We surpass the beautiful waters of other cities by the abundance of ours, and the abundant waters of other cities by the beauty of ours,... (trans. Downey, *ibid.*)". The water-supply from Daphne was in fact insufficient for the needs of Antioch. Cf. Wilbur, 1938, 51.

hands and represented the leader of the Muses. His hair and crown of laurel bloomed in a riot of gold, giving maximum delight to the beholder.⁴ The hollows of his eyes were filled out by two great precious violet stones (hyacinths) in memory of the boy Hyacinthus of Amyclae. The beauty of the gems and their size were a permanent and significant ornament to the statue. The makers of the statue went to extraordinary ends to perfect its beauty, so that as many as possible might be deceived by it, being ensnared by the great beauty of its outward appearance into paying it homage. This indeed was what happened to Julian: for he venerated it more than all the other statues, having sacrificed many tens of hecatombs of each species to it.

53. Even though Julian did everything and spared no effort to procure an oracular pronouncement, this statue and all the others there kept completely silent. He then considered that he needed the help of the magical art which the pagans call '*hierurgia*'. He sent for a certain Eusebius who held the greatest reputation among the pagans for his ability at this, and he ordered him to render the statue as inspired as possible and thereby effective; and he was to leave out nothing that he considered necessary for this purpose. When he had applied all his tricks and had left out nothing that he could think of, and the statue had maintained its natural silence in the like fashion making no more utterance than before, he was then asked by Julian why it was particularly silent even when every trick they could think of had been performed on it in full. Eusebius said that Babylas was the chief cause of the silence of this statue and of the others, since the gods loathed his corpse lying there in Daphne and for this reason could not endure to visit their shrines. For he did not wish to tell the real reason which he perceived all too well, namely that a superior power had obviously shackled the workings of the demons, and especially when the demon masquerading as Apollo had clearly and expressly said, so the story goes, that he was not able to respond because of Babylas.

54. This Babylas is said to have been a bishop in Antioch. When the emperor Numerianus wished to enter in the Christian church during some festival, Babylas stood before the doors and said that he would do his utmost to prevent the emperor from entering as he would not permit a wolf to come within the flock. The emperor immediately pulled back from entering, either in fear of the crowd rioting or because he had changed his mind. However he resented the opposition of the bishop and when he had returned to his palace, he had the bishop brought into his presence to defend himself. He first of all charged him with the effrontery of his prohibition, afterwards he ordered him to sacrifice to pagan deities if he wished to escape the penalty for

⁴ Cf. Lib., *or. LX, frag. 11*, trans. *supra*, Appx. (A). See other sources collected in Overbeck, 1868, 253, texts 1321-1324.

the accusation. The bishop however defended himself against the charge and evaded the challenge; on the first count saying that since he was the shepherd it was fitting for him to show all zeal for his flock, and on the second that he would not choose to apostasize from the True God and sacrifice to murderous and falsely named (pagan) deities. Then when the emperor saw that he would not obey, he ordered him to be bound with chains and fetters and led off to execution by decapitation. But Babylas, when he was being led to execution, took up and sang these words of the Psalm (114,7, LXX = 116,7, Hebr./Eng.), "Turn, my soul, to your rest, because the Lord has shown you kindness."

55. It is also said that three quite young boys, brothers by birth, who had been brought up by him, were also seized by the emperor; and these too the emperor ordered to lose their heads when they refused to sacrifice, though every kind of compulsion was brought to bear on them. When they came to the appointed place, Babylas set them before him and brought them to the sword first, so that none of them should in fear shrink from death. As they were beheaded he uttered these words, "Behold, I and my children, whom God gave to me." (Isaiah, 8,18) Afterwards he himself stretched out his neck to the sword, ordering those who were going to recover his body to bury the chains and fetters with it, "So that these", he said, "might adorn me in my grave." These now lie buried with him, so they say.

When Julian learned from Eusebius that this Babylas was preventing the statues from giving utterance, he immediately ordered the coffin, which was constructed from a large stone (i.e. a sarcophagus), should be moved away from Daphne by those to whom it was important and transferred to some far away point of their choice. Immediate upon this, the urban mob poured out of the city as for an important cause and surrounded and dragged the coffin. It was conveyed as if by some superior force rather than being dragged by men. For though it was following the crowd, it outpaced the enthusiasm of those who were leading it. Indeed on the same day they conveyed it further than fifty stades and set it down in the so-called 'Coemeterium'. It is a house outside the city which has received many bodies of men from the ancient times and of a few who 'bore witness' to their piety (i. e. martyrs). On that occasion they conveyed the coffin inside it.

56. As for Julian, he prepared a multitude of victims and offerings so that on the following day he might go up to Daphne with them hoping that now he would at least obtain a response from Apollo, if not from the others. As far as he was concerned the entire goal of his enthusiasm and his effort were directed to the latter since he rather than any other held such an advantage both on account of his oracular skill and because the place, Daphne, was sacred to him; for Julian considered that he rather than anyone of the other pagan deities would most probably prevail on his own territory. Eusebius

and the other so-called priests and the throng of temple attendants gathered in a large crowd to receive the emperor, and they stayed awake around the statue and exerted themselves in every way, so that when Julian arrived he would obtain an utterance, since no other excuse was now left to him for a delay. However, in the deep of the night, fire suddenly fell from heaven and struck the temple, instantly enveloping it on all sides, and set alight the statue and the offerings to it. All was ablaze and the flames shot up ever higher, when suddenly a great cry broke out around the temple and an uproar like no other; and although many were eager to lend their aid, there was no one who could prevail against the fire. Some ran to inform Julian the *Praefectus Orientis*,⁵ while the rest of the crowd stood confused and became spectators of the disaster that had overwhelmed them so unexpectedly. But the fire consumed none of the other temples despite the density and the abundance of woodland growth there, because it fell only upon the temple of Apollo and consumed it along with its contents. Consequently, the statue and all its offerings disappeared completely, and only the mere foundations of the buildings were left as reminders of the disaster; and they even now reveal all too clearly the proof of the fire sent by God.

⁵ Julian was *comes Orientis*. Errors over his official rank are common in ecclesiastical sources. See references in *PLRE*, i, pp. 470-471.

III. FROM CTESIPHON TO NISIBIS

EPHREM THE SYRIAN

*Hymns against Julian, the King, who apostasised
and against the false teachers
and against the Jews*

(Hymni contra Julianum)

translated by

Judith M. Lieu

with introduction and notes by

Samuel N.C. Lieu

INTRODUCTION

1 The Persian Expedition of Julian (April to June 363)

The much heralded Persian expedition of Julian marked a reversal of the defensive policy which Constantius had sedulously pursued in the East after he had tried to oppose an invading Persian army in an open battle near Singara, which dissolved into a series of nocturnal skirmishes with heavy losses to both sides (Lib., *or.* LIX,100-118 and Jul., *or.* I,23A-25A, 18.13-20.14, ed. Bidez.; cf. Seeck, 1919, 196; see also *Chron. Jac. Edess.* (Syr.) CSCO 5, p. 293). However, the way in which a strongly fortified frontier city like Nisibis was able to hold out against three determined assaults by Shapur II (337 or 338, 346 and 350, see below pp. 95-96) in the early part of his reign was not lost on Constantius. By not rushing to its aid immediately with a large field army, he committed Shapur II to a war of attrition and also made the city more self-reliant in its own defence. In the same year as the battle of Singara, Constantius ordered the further strengthening of the fortification of Amida (cf. *Chron. Jac. Edess.*, loc. cit. and Thphn., *chron.*, A. M. 5832, p. 36,10-11), a key fortress guarding the Tigris route into Armenia in which he had taken a personal interest while he was still Caesar, probably after he had delivered it from the Persians in 336 (cf. Amm. XIX,9,1 and Thphn., *chron.*, A. M. 5815, p. 20,22-26). His policy of defence in depth remained relatively successful until 359/60 when Shapur II, advised by an important Roman defector, captured Amida together with Singara and Bezabde (Amm. XVIII,9,1-XIX,9,9 and XX,6,1-7,17; cf. Lieu, 1986, 491-496 and Matthews, 1986, 556-558). Constantius' desire to avenge the losses called for the transfer of units from Julian's command in Gaul to the East. The order was not welcome to troops who were fanatically devoted to Julian and their desire to stay by him ultimately led to his being proclaimed Augustus in Paris in 360. As Constantius' successor, Julian automatically inherited the war, and, with his previous record of victories in Gaul, both he and his supporters had grounds for believing that even greater things could be achieved against Persia.

The frontier policy of Constantius in the East, however, was not as disastrous for the overall defence of the realm as his detractors would lead us to believe. Though he lost a string of fortresses in his last years, the Persians suffered such heavy casualties in the sieges that Shapur was unable to sustain the momentum of his attack, and of the three main fortresses he captured, he held on only to Bezabde (Amm. XX,11,1-6 and Lib., *or.* XII,62,71-2 and XVIII,165). The frontier as established by Diocletian was largely intact and by skilful diplomacy Constantius had ensured the loyalty of Armenia to Rome, thereby depriving the Sassanians of the Upper Tigris as an invasion route into the Roman Empire. Thus there was no immediate strategic imperative for his successor to renew the war and the Persians were also eager to avoid it (Lib., *or.* XVIII, 164). The desire for glory and the promise of rich spoils were the two causes with which Julian tried to inspire

his forces (Amm. XXIII,5,19 and XXIV,3,4). He was said to have sympathized with the suffering of the frontier provinces and was desirous of exacting vengeance (Lib., *or.* XVII,19), but, more importantly, as a commander who had built his reputation on taking the battle deep into enemy territory by daring raids, he would have known the psychological importance of offensive action and the demoralizing effect of static garrison-life. It was important too for him to demonstrate to his subjects that the Roman empire still possessed the manpower and the resources to repeat the successes of Trajan, Severus and Carus. A victorious campaign against Persia would greatly enhance his reputation and give much needed succour to his controversial religious policy which was already running into difficulties (cf. Ruf., *h. e.* I,36, *PL* 21.504). Not surprisingly his pagan theurgist friends who accompanied him on the campaign were among the most ardent advocates for the vigorous prosecution of the war, especially when the omens seemed unfavourable (Amm. XXIII,5,10, Soc., *h. e.* III,21,6 etc.; cf. Wirth, 1978, 458-465).

The plan of invasion was formulated in utmost secrecy as deception was at its heart (*ELF* 98,401D-402A, p. 159,12-15 and Lib., *or.* XVIII, 213 Cf. Barcelo, 1982, 98-102). Julian crossed the Euphrates and marched through Osroene, giving the impression to his enemy that he was heading for Adiabene via Nisibis. At a suitable moment the main force turned south and joined a transport flotilla at Nicephorium/Callinicum for a rapid descent down the Euphrates while leaving a decoy army to continue the eastward march to the Tigris where it would eventually join forces with the Armenian allies. The main objective of the expedition was the urban complex in Assuristan which contained the ancient Parthian capital of Ctesiphon and the more modern Veh-Ardashir, the Sassanian capital built by Ardashir round the hill fort of Coche to replace Hellenistic Seleucia which had become deserted because of a change in the course of the Tigris which left the ancient city without a river frontage (cf. Fiey, 1967, 6-9, and 14-18 and *idem*, 1970, 41-44). The successful capture of Ctesiphon, the winter residence of the Sassanian kings, would have certainly entitled Julian to the coveted salutation of 'Parthicus' or 'Persicus maximus' and would have provided him with a base for installing a friendly regime in Persia headed by the exile Hormisdas (cf. Lib., *ep.* 1402,3).

However, for such an intricate plan to succeed, Julian needed a compact, mobile and highly disciplined force and excellent military intelligence. Subsequent events were to show that Julian was no Trajan or Heraclius and that he was ill-equipped to achieve his grand design. The surviving sources, including Julian's own letters, give the impression that he was preoccupied with religious affairs in the preceding winter in Antioch and devoted little of his time to military matters. Moreover, he seems to have lost the enthusiasm for soldierly banter and intelligence gathering which he had

once shown in Gaul (see e. g. Amm. XVI,5,9 and *ELF* 10,403C/D, pp. 12,25-13,7, cf. Weis, 1973, 243). The topography of the middle reaches of the Euphrates and of the region around the Twin-Cities was very complicated as the land was criss-crossed by numerous canals and dried river beds which could easily slow down his advance. Yet Julian seems to have been content merely to rely on the guidance of the defector Hormisdas, who had lived in the Roman Empire since 324 (cf. Joh. Ant., *frag.* 178, *FHG* IV, p. 605), on sending reconnaissance units ahead of the main force (cf. Amm. XXIV,1,2; 2,4; 3,1; 4,13;5,3 etc.) and on the interrogation of captured enemies (Lib., *or.* XVIII, 246, Amm. XXIV,7,6 and Soz., *h. e.* VI,1,9). The Saracens were the eyes of the desert and were regularly employed as scouts, skirmishers and interpreters by both sides (Amm. XXIII,3,8 and XXV,1,3; see also Procop., *pers.* I,17,30, Theoph. Sim., II,10,6,III,17,7-9 etc.). Yet Julian was too arrogant to pay those whom he had always regarded as brigands (*or.* I,19A, 14.18-19, ed. Bidez, p. 31) their usual bribe (Amm. XXV,6,10). Although he later requested their envoys to join him (*ELF* 98,401D, p. 159,11-12), it is doubtful whether he was able to secure their full cooperation (cf. Shahid, 1984, 132-5). The Persians, on the other hand, had the support of Podosaces, the Emir of the Assanitae Arabs, whose forces would later prove to be a thorough nuisance to the Roman army (Amm. XXIV,2,4 and XXV,6,9; cf. Lightfoot, 1981, 271-275). Julian's decision to bring a large fleet to speed up the transportation of the more bulky equipment and to help with bridging operations might have been influenced by his earlier successful dash down the Danube (see above pp. 19-21); but the Sassanians were not unaware of the dangers of the Euphrates being used as a water-borne invasion route (it had been used before successfully by Trajan and Septimius Severus against the Parthians) and had bolstered its defence by means of fortified strong points along the river. (See also Nyberg, 1959, 321-324.) Encumbered with a fleet which was tied to a fixed route, Julian could not ignore the threat which these fortresses posed to his supply line. Fortresses like Pirisabora, built to guard the Euphrates from attacks by Roman forces or marauding bands of Saracens by Shapur I in commemoration of his victory over Gordian III (*Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Gk.), line 9, ed. Maricq), and Maiozamalcha, strategically sited between the Euphrates and the Tigris, were veritable redoubts guarded by picked troops and capable of offering stiff resistance to any invader. (Cf. Bliembach, 1976, 173-174 and Matthews, 1989, 150-179.)

Once Julian had joined up with the transport fleet, progress was agonizingly slow. He had a large enough force to induce some of the less heavily defended outposts to surrender, but the main forts *en route* which could not be by-passed were neutralized only after much expenditure of time and effort. The element of surprise was soon completely lost. Though Shapur did swallow the bait of the feigned march and had taken his main force up the Royal Road to counter an attack on Adiabene, he had not left his

winter capital unguarded. The Roman columns were soon shadowed and harassed by troops under the command of a top-ranking Persian officer and their scouting parties were not infrequently ambushed, especially by Saracens (Amm. XXIV,2,4). Moreover the rivers in Mesopotamia were in spate because of the melting snow in Armenia; and, once the Romans reached the heavily canalized region north-west of the capital, the Persians cut the dykes and the low lying grounds were quickly flooded, causing further delays to Julian's advance (Amm. XXIV,3,10-11, Zos. III,19,3-4 and Lib., *or.* XVIII,222-226 and 232-234). His knowledge of the complicated lay-out of the canal network joining the Euphrates and the Tigris was woefully inadequate and the little that he knew seems to have been based on authorities as ancient as Herodotus. He was surprised therefore to discover that the famous Royal Canal (the Naarmalcha) had been closed and the blockage at its mouth was under cultivation (Lib., *or.* XVIII,246). Since Ctesiphon was on the east bank of the Tigris, Julian had no choice but to spend time which he could ill afford to clear the channel. The various inadvertent delays had enabled elements of the main Persian army to return to their capital ahead of the Romans. Julian once more showed his mettle as a field commander by defeating the Persians in open battle in front of the gates of the city but his troops threw discipline to the winds when they saw the rich ornaments on the bodies of the fallen enemies and the victory was not followed up by the capture of the city (Amm. XXIV,6,4-16, Zos. III,25,6, Lib., *or.* XVIII,252-255 and Festus, *brev.* 28). Indeed, the soft living of the sojourn in Antioch the previous winter seems to have taken its toll on army discipline and the more a panegyrist like Libanius tries to show how Julian endeavoured to instill discipline into his troops through personal example, the more the problem is brought home to us (Lib., *or.* XVIII,216, 229-230, 261, 263 etc. See also Jul., *ELF* 98,402A).

The choices before Julian and his high command were equally stark. They could not lay siege to Ctesiphon without risking his forces being caught between the besiegers and the main Persian army of Shapur which was arriving steadily and regrouping in the vicinity of the capital. To retrace their steps would mean going over lands which had been denuded of provisions by their troops and would certainly give the impression of a humiliating withdrawal. Julian seems to have been so certain of success that he had no contingency plan in the case of his failure to capture his main objective. The only course he and his commanders saw fit to pursue to avert a complete disaster was to march north along the east bank of the Tigris, following roughly the same route taken by Xenophon and his famous "Ten Thousand", in the hope that they would eventually meet up with the secondary force which had so far failed to come to his assistance. Since the Tigris was also in full flood, to sail a transport flotilla against the current would have been impossible. Julian therefore gave orders for the boats to be burnt after they had been unloaded (Amm. XXIV,7,1-5, Zos. III,26,2-3 and Lib., *or.*

XVIII,262-263; cf. Bliembach, 1976, 200-202). The fleet had certainly outlived any military usefulness but its destruction was a great psychological blow to the troops who had enjoyed being able to march relatively unencumbered. Some believed that he was influenced in his decision to burn the fleet by conversations he had with the Persian prisoners he was going to use as guides; and, when put to torture, they confessed their perfidy but only twelve ships were saved (Amm. XXIV,7,5-6). The church historian Sozomen (*h. e.* VI,1,10) tells us that after Julian had destroyed the fleet he followed the advice of an old Persian prisoner who had promised to lead him to the Roman frontier by a route that was both short and well-supplied. He was in actual fact an enemy 'plant' and he duly led the Romans through a waterless desert which greatly increased their plight (see also Greg. Naz., *or* V,11.1-18, ed. Bernardi, pp. 312-4, Malalas, *chron.* XIII, p. 330,20-332,4 = Magnus Carrhae, *FGrH* 225,9-11, p. 953,13-33, [Aur. Vict.], *epit. de caes.* 43,2, Hieron., *chron.*, s. a. 363, p. 243, Festus, *brev.* 28, Philost., *h. e.* VII,15, pp. 100,9-101,2 and *Artemii passio* 69, p. 243, ed. Kotter = GCS Philost., p. 101,22-9.) The story bears an unmistakable resemblance to the betrayal of Crassus by Abgar of Edessa (cf. Plut., *Crass.* 21,1, ed. Ziegler and Dio, LIX,20-25, ed. Boissevain) and the fact that it enjoyed such widespread acceptance among the sources attests to Julian's complete reliance on the enemy for vital intelligence. Theodoret (*h. e.* III,25,4) is probably closest to the truth when he says that the Roman army was 'without guides and wandering aimlessly in the desert.' Beset by heat and thirst as well as being continuously attacked by marauding bands of Persians and Saracens, the expeditionary force of Julian faced the same grim prospects as those which confronted Mark Antony's legions as they fought their way out of Media (cf. Plut., *Anton.* 38,2-52,3 ed. Ziegler). It was in the confused melee of a sudden raid on the rear column of the Roman army that Julian received a fatal wound from a spear (26 June, 363).

(2) Ephrem the Syrian and the *Hymni contra Julianum*

Being the last male scion of the House of Constantine and childless, Julian had no heir presumptive and his death in the field of battle added the problem of imperial succession to the already grave military situation. In view of the perilous position in which the Roman army was placed, a successor had to be found immediately and the commanders accepted Saturninus Secundus Salutius, the Praetorian Prefect of the East as a compromise candidate. However, he refused on the grounds of ill-health and old age. While the debate continued, some soldiers who could not stand the delay any longer proclaimed Jovian, a cavalry commander, as Augustus; and the rest of the army which had only just realized the loss of their beloved emperor readily accepted him so as not to be deprived of a commander-in-chief (Amm. XXV,5,1-7). Shapur launched an all out attack on the Roman army once he had learned of the death of Julian. In the ensuing engagement, the Romans emerged victorious under their new leader and they continued

their fighting withdrawal towards the frontier. But they were still on the far bank of the Tigris and a combination of swift current and enemy opposition made crossing impossible. They were also rapidly running out of supplies of all kinds. Jovian knew that he might need to beat off other contenders for the throne later and was therefore reluctant to see his army annihilated. Consequently he was prepared to accept the feelers put out by Shapur for a negotiated settlement.

After four days of hard bargaining the Roman army was granted safe passage out of Persian territory but at a fearful price. Jovian had to cede three of the five Trans-Tigritanian *regiones* which had been incorporated into the Roman Empire through the victory of Galerius in 297 as well as a string of fortresses including Nisibis and Singara. The latter were surrendered with great reluctance and only on condition that their citizens would be allowed to leave and in the case of Nisibis, the city would revert to Roman sovereignty after a period of 120 years (Amm. XXV,7,5-11 and Ps. Jos. Styl., *chron.* (Syr.)7, pp. 8,19-9,1, ed. Wright). The Romans were also forbidden to give aid to the Armenians in their disputes and contests with the Sassanians. Consequently Shapur was able to defeat and capture Arsak, the King of Armenia, who was Julian's ally and to incorporate into his domain great tracts of Armenia bordering on Media including the important city of Artaxata (Amm. XXV,7,12). The treaty of 363 was the first occasion on which Rome had formally agreed to cede territory to an alien power and the cession of Nisibis had a profound effect on Rome's frontier defences as it gave the Persians an ideal advance base for the invasion of Roman Mesopotamia. The military balance along the frontier lay very much in Persia's favour until Anastasius ordered the construction of a fortress at Dara near to Nisibis with the specific purpose of neutralizing the advantages which Nisibis gave to the Persians (Ps. Jos. Styl., *chron.* 90, pp. 83,8-84,5, ed. Wright and Zach. Rh., *h. e.*, VI,6, CSCO 84, pp. 34,21-37,27).

The Roman army passed through Nisibis on its return journey. The Nisibenes, who were mainly Christians, were not displeased to see the corpse of Julian who had earlier refused to guarantee their protection on the grounds of their religion (Soz., *h. e.* V,3,5), but they were stunned to see the Persian flag flying from the same citadel which had withstood three long sieges against the Persians. They entreated the emperor to spare them from the loss of their homes and reminded him that Constantius, even in his direst straits, did not cede any territory to the Persians. Though full of sympathy for these loyal subjects, Jovian was unwilling to commit perjury and officers were appointed to evict the populace (Amm. XXV,9,2-3, cf. Turcan, 1966, 876-881). The scene of the evacuation was one of despair and utter confusion: widows mourned the forcible separation from the ashes of their loved ones, weeping throngs kissed the thresholds of their houses and the roads were choked with people going in all directions seeking refuge with

whatever possessions they could carry as there was a shortage of pack-animals (Amm. XXV,9.5-6, see also Ioh. Ant., *frag.* 181, *FHG*, IV, p. 20 = Eunap., *frag.* 29, ed. Blockley).

Not all citizens left at once and among those who stayed for a while to see what it was like to live under Persian domination was a Christian ascetic by the name of Ephrem. He came from a Christian family (Ephr., *HcHaer.* XXVI,10, CSCO 169, p. 107,21) near Nisibis (born c. 306) and a major influence in his early spiritual development had been the legendary Jacob who was bishop of the city during the first siege by Shapur II (337 or 338) and was the organizer (*strategos*) of the city's defence (Thdt., *h. e.* II,30,2 GCS). The Mygdonius, the river which flowed through the city was, according to legend, dammed upstream by the Persians and when the water began to overflow the dam, they suddenly broke it and let the torrent loose like a battering ram against the city wall. It made a breach but Shapur was not able to storm the city immediately because his way was blocked by the water and while he waited, the citizens under the exhortation of Jacob repaired the wall with whatever building material that came to hand (Thdt., *h. rel.* I,11,16-36, eds. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, i, pp. 184-6). When the attack finally came, the holy man ascended the ramparts at the request of his fellow citizens and, according to Theodoret (ibid. I,11 36-45), he prayed that God would send a plague of mosquitoes and gnats to harass the enemy. This was instantly answered and, maddened by the insects, the Persian horses threw off their riders and the elephants turned round and trampled their own men. Later traditions maintain that the plague was brought about by the intercession of Ephrem who was then Jacob's attendant and secretary (*Hist. S. Ephr.* 6, ed. Lamy, cols. 17-19) or that it was Ephrem who persuaded Jacob to ascend the ramparts (Thdt., *h. e.* II,30,11-13). Legends apart, the Persians did seem to have scored an own goal through the use of elephants at Nisibis (probably at the third siege) as we are told by Ammianus (XXV,1,15) that thenceforth they equipped their elephant handlers with special knives to kill the beasts by severing the vein which connects the head to the neck by a mighty blow in order to prevent a repeat of what happened at Nisibis. The citizens probably flung containers of insects at the attackers just as the defenders of nearby Hatra had done in the past against the forces of Septimius Severus (Herodian, III,9,5). It is not uninteresting to note that Nisibis (or Nasibin) was notorious among Arab travellers in the Middle Ages for the virulence of its gnats (cf. Le Strange, 1905, 95).

The city was twice invested by Shapur in the next decade (in 346 and 350) but it held out against the invaders and the bravery of its citizens became a symbol of Roman (and Christian) resistance to Persian might. In the third siege, the river was diverted to form a lake round the city and siege-engines mounted on ships were deployed against the wall. A section of it fell but Shapur did not storm the breach immediately and the damage was repaired by

the well-organized local defence (cf. below, p. 116, n. 56). The third siege of Nisibis is by far the best documented and most famous of the three sieges endured by the city under Constantius. It is highly probable, therefore, that the story of the use of the Mygdonius as a battering ram originated from this siege and was conflated with the details of the first siege by hagiographers like Theodoret to embroider the legend of Jacob. The latter died shortly after the first siege but Ephrem seems to have inherited his mantle as a major source of inspiration for the defence of the city. He had already shown his talents as a poet and the first section of his famed *Carmina Nisibena* (I-XXI, CSCO 218, pp. 1-59) in which he spoke of his admiration for Jacob and his successors Babu (338), Vologeses (346) and Abraham (361) as well as giving a graphic description of the suffering of the city in the siege of 350, was almost certainly completed before his departure from Nisibis. He remained in his native city until Shapur had taken possession of the city and only left after conditions became unbearable for the Christians among the populace (*HcJul.* II,22-3, see below pp. 115-116). He stayed briefly at Amida where he had some maternal relatives (*Hist. S. Ephr.* 10, col. 26, ed. Lamy) and all our sources concur that he soon moved on to Edessa, the metropolis of Osroene and the most important centre of Syriac-speaking Christianity in the Roman Empire (cf. Vööbus, 1958a, 50-51, idem, 1958b, 84-92 and Schiwietz, 1938, 145-7).

At Edessa, Ephrem quickly established himself as a leading teacher of the scriptures. Tradition ascribes to him the foundation of the catechetical School of Edessa which would eventually become famous for its theological learning and later so notorious as a hot bed of Nestorianism that it was forcibly closed by imperial edict in 489 (cf. Barhadbesabba, *Causa Fund. Schol.*, PO IV,4,1907, p. 381,5-8). His reputation as a controversialist, already established at Nisibis, also grew apace with a series of dissertations refuting the teachings of the heresiarchs Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan (cf. Beck, 1978, *passim* and Lieu, 1985, 125). He was also a much admired ascetic, and a story concerning the role he played in relieving a great famine in Edessa found its way into the highly popular *historia Lausiaca* of Palladius (40, ed. Butler, pp. 126-127. Cf. Soz., *h. e.* III,16,13-15). A prolific author in both prose and verse, Ephrem holds a position in Syriac Christian literature which is comparable to that of Chrysostom in Greek. His extant writings comprise exegetical, ascetical and polemical works in prose, metrical homilies (*memre*) and doctrinal hymns (*madrashe*). According to Jerome (*de vir. illus.* 115, PL 23.707), the writings of Ephrem were read next to the scriptures in churches in some places. His fame as a writer extended far beyond the confines of the Syriac speaking churches. With the exception of the works of Mani and Bardaisan and apocryphal and quasi-scriptural works like the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Teaching of Addai*, the writings of Ephrem were the only works in Syriac which enjoyed a substantial audience among the Greek speakers in the Roman Empire in the

fourth century. He was the only Syriac theologian before the Monophysite controversy to be universally admired and the epithet of 'the Syrian' testifies to his unique position. By the time of Sozomen (early 5th C.) a considerable body of his works had been translated into Greek. The Church historian was pleasantly surprised by the high quality of the translations and remarks that few works of Greek would have undergone the process of translation and yet retained their literary merits. In the case of the works of Ephrem, they were equally admired in both Greek and Syriac (*h. e.* III,16,2). Jerome (*loc. cit.*) says that he had read one of his works entitled 'on the Holy Spirit' which was translated into Greek. However, many of the works which passed under the name of 'Ephraem Graecus' have now been shown to be inauthentic works produced originally in Greek in emulation of Ephrem. The same 'western' admiration for Ephrem also led to a growth of legends about the saint's travels in the Roman Empire, especially his visit to Cilicia where he was said to have been ordained by the famous Basil. The legends, which might have originated in the West, gained such currency that they found their way into the main Syriac sources of Ephrem's life (see e.g. *Hist. S. Ephr.* 20-28, cols. 37-61, ed. Lamy). As far as we know, Ephrem remained in Edessa from his arrival in 364 till his death in 373. He never held any ecclesiastical rank above that of deacon (*HcHaer.* 56,10, CSCO 169, p. 211,25) and had an ascetic's distaste of high office (Soz., *h. e.* III,16,11). His pupils came to be known collectively as the 'School of the Persians' because of the number of foreigners among them and at his death (c. 373) he was buried without pomp in the cemetery in Edessa which was reserved for foreigners (*Hist. S. Ephr.* 42, col.87).

It was as a spiritual poet and hymn-writer that Ephrem made his most lasting and significant contribution to the ecclesiastical life of his time. We are told by Sozomen (*h. e.* IV,16,7) that when he perceived that the Syrians were much charmed by the elegance of the poems of the heretic Bardaisan of Edessa which were skilfully set to music by his son, appropriately named Harmonius, he became apprehensive lest they should imbibe their contents. He thereupon set himself to master the metre of Harmonius and composed similar poems in accordance with the doctrine of the church and praises for ascetics. This is probably a fiction of Sozomen's Greek chauvinism as he could not imagine that (barbarian) Syriac poetry of his day which was being translated into Greek was not inspired by Greek models. Ephrem's poetic output was very large (3,000,000 verses! according to Soz., *h. e.* III,16,4) and the extant corpus which contains some works of dubious authenticity is also substantial. Among his most important early works are the *Carmina Nisibena*, a collection of hymns in a variety of metres composed in celebration of divine protection of the city. His other hymns which need not concern us here cover various mysteries of Christ's life such as his nativity and his resurrection. Himself an ascetic, Ephrem also composed hymns on ascetic themes such as fasting and virginity and to him were attributed

panegyrics on famous holy men of Osrhoene like Julian Saba and Abraham of Kidunaia. The hymns are usually provided with refrains which would have been sung by the audience in response to Ephrem as he sang the stanzas accompanied by his harp (cf. *Hist. S. Ephr.* 31, col. 67, ed. Lamy). Written in rhythmic prose according to a metre of fixed syllables (usually seven), they are rich in Biblical references and vivid and apt metaphors and imageries. The format lends itself to music and the regular form was a valuable aid to the memory. As a theologian-poet, Ephrem had few rivals in his day and his hymns exercised a profound influence on the development of Greek as well as Syriac hymnography. He became the standard by which the other Syriac poets are judged and his high standing and popularity is typified by a remark of Theodoret who, in enumerating the great saints of his time, calls Ephrem "the harp of the Spirit, who daily waters the people of Syria with the streams of grace (*ep.* 146, ed. Azema, p. 190,10-11)".

Devotion and praise, however, were not the only ends to which Ephrem directed his unquestioned skills as a poet. Besides using his hymns to inculcate what he believed to be the true faith, he also hit out in them at its enemies, be they pagans, Jews or heretics. Among his extant poetical works is a collection of 56 hymns in which he lambasted the chief heretical sects of his time, especially those of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan but mentioning also the Valentinians and the Quqites. These he composed either in his last years at Nisibis or early in his period in Edessa. In the same vein and belonging to the same period of his life is a collection of four hymns against Julian and the Jews. They have come down to us in one manuscript (British Museum Cod. Add. 14,571, fol. 105b-114a) which contains only the *madrashe* of Ephrem and was made in the early sixth century. We know from one of the Syriac biographies of Ephrem that he had written "*memre* against the ungodly Julian ... and about the persecution of the bishops by this evil man (*Acta syr. S.Ephr.* 36, ed. Assemani, p. 50)." The authenticity of the four hymns we possess is not therefore in doubt and the highly personal tone of some of the verses could only have been the work of someone who had actually suffered the humiliation of seeing his native city being surrendered to the Persians whom it had defied so arrogantly for almost thirty years.

The *Hymns Against Julian* (*HcJul.*) are uniform in metre as they are all set to the same tune and contain a total of ninety verses (20+27+17+26). Each verse has eleven *stichoi* and each of them has five syllables with the exception of the seventh which has seven (i.e. 55555575555). Although the hymns will be studied mainly for their historical value rather than their literary merits in the ensuing pages, yet one needs to be aware of the considerable difference which exists between Syriac and Graeco-Latin, let alone, English, poetry. On this the words of Professor Gwynn (1898,148-9) which preface his much admired selection of Ephrem's poems, though

written nearly a century ago, are still worth quoting for those who are totally unfamiliar with Semitic poetry:

"The Syriac Hymnody is constructed on the Hebrew principle of parallelism, in which thought answers to thought in clauses of repetitive or antithetical balance; but unlike the Hebrew, its clauses are further regulated by strict equivalence of syllabic measure. But though in this latter respect it seems to approach to the forms of Western verse, ancient or modern, yet the resemblance is but superficial: Syriac verse is not measured by feet whether determined by syllabic quantity, as in Greek and Latin, or by accent, as in English and other modern languages. Thus the metre of Syriac poetry is substantially the "thought-metre" (as it has been well called) of Hebrew, reduced to regularity of form by the rule that each of the lines into which the balanced clauses fall, shall consist of a fixed number of syllables. There is no systematic rhyme; but the nature of the language which by reason of its uniformity of etymological structure abounds in words of like terminations, often causes correspondences of sound amounting to rhyme, or at least to assonance. The lines are very short; not exceeding twelve syllables, sometimes confined to four. Ephrem, though not the actual inventor, was the first master of this metrical system, the first to develop it into system and variety. His favourite metres are the five-syllabled and the seven-syllabled. In his more elaborate poems, such as the Nisibene series, which are rather Odes than Hymns, the strophes or stanzas into which the lines are arranged are often long and of complicated structure, each strophe consisting of many lines (ranging from four up to fourteen or more) of various lengths according to a fixed scheme rigidly adhered to throughout the poem - sometimes throughout a group of cognate poems. In other poems, especially in Hymns intended for popular or ecclesiastical use, where simplicity of structure is suitable, the lines which compose each strophe, whatever their number, are of uniform length. So easily do the Syriac tongue, and the genius of Syriac literature lend themselves to this scheme for short, syllabically equal clauses, that (as has been already stated) many even of the Homilies are metrical; arranged not indeed in strophes, but in continuous succession of brief *stichoi*, all of one and the same length - usually of seven syllables; a sort of blank verse, but a blank verse with no animating accents, no varying pauses."

Ephrem was brought up in a completely Semitic cultural milieu and as far as we know he had no Greek education (Soz., *h. e.* III, 16, 7) and in his writing he shows only a rudimentary knowledge of Greek philosophy and even occasional contempt for Greek (i. e. pagan) learning (*HFid.* II, 24, CSCO 154, p. 7, 13-14, etc.). The thought-world of his poetry is dominated by the Christian scriptures, both the Old and the New Testaments. For him the Bible was not merely a source of sanctimonious references or proof-texts to be used literally, but a living reality. In the *HcJul.*, the actions of Julian against the church were frequently compared to incidents and themes from the Old Testament (e. g. I, 18-20, II, 7, III, 12, IV, 15 etc.). These Biblical stories would have been familiar to his audience and the point of the parallels would have been readily taken. He also derived from the Bible a great wealth of startling and allusive imageries to which he gave symbolic significance and which he used with great originality and creativity. Being very early works, the *HcJul.* are not altogether representative of Ephrem's poetic genius - which has been compared to that of Dante (cf. Murray, 1967,

222), - and are rarely discussed in any assessment of him as a poet (see however, Robson, 1980, *passim*). For those who wish to know more of the kind of 'symbols' and 'types' used by Ephrem and other early Syriac writers, an authoritative study with fine translations of many excerpts from Ephrem's poems is R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom, A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (Cambridge, 1975). The exquisite quality and simplicity of Ephrem's poetry are difficult to convey in a modern language but two outstanding attempts are R. Lavenant, *Hymnes sur le Paradis* (Sources Chrétiennes 137, Paris, 1968) and S. Brock's anthology of eighteen poems, *The Harp of the Spirit* (Studies Supplementary to *Sobornost*, No. 4, 1975, second edition, 1983). The latter also contains an excellent introduction to the thought world of Ephrem's poetry (pp. 10-17). Not all modern scholars, however, are equally complimentary about the poetical skills of Ephrem, one distinguished author criticizes his work for showing "little profundity or originality of thought, and his metaphors are laboured. His poems are turgid, humourless and repetitive... But Ephraim's writings reflect his courage, his sincerity, his unswerving zeal for the faith and his sympathy for the poor." (Segal, 1970, 89).

For the historian of the Late Empire, the *HcJul.* is a valuable and still largely untapped contemporary source on the last days of the reign of Julian (cf. Bowersock, 1978, 9-10). The hymns were probably composed before Ephrem's departure from Nisibis, or at any rate, prior to his arrival at Edessa, i. e. within six to nine months of the abandonment of Nisibis when memories were still fresh, feelings high and the events which they described topical. They show the extent to which Julian's religious policy had alienated the central government from a key frontier city which had earlier built up a close tie with Constantius who visited it in person in 345 (*CT* XI,7,5). Ephrem had come to see the fortunes of Nisibis in war as closely bound up with the Emperor's devotion to Christianity and this close relationship had now been usurped by the 'tyrant' who was an apostate (I,12, 13; II,19, 25 etc.). His religious policy gave new heart to the pagans and semi-Christians (i. e. those who accepted conversion out of expediency) and his initial victories in Persia had an uplifting effect on their morale (I,14). The city was forced to reintroduce pagan worship (I,1-5, II,21-22) and to remove the remains of Jacob, its erstwhile champion, from their place of rest within the walls (Gennadius, *lib. de script. eccl.* I, PL 58.1062). The citizens naturally feared that worse was still to come (II,10). Ephrem seems to be well informed on what took place in Antioch the previous winter, especially on the emperor's open indulgence in astrology and augury (II,2-4), his being surrounded by a coterie of mountebanks (II,2-4 and IV,7), his participation in the celebration of the cult of Aphrodite (II,4-6) which was also denounced by Chrysostom (see above pp. 59-60), the Daphne incident as well as the subsequent persecutions (IV,1-2). He even commented on Julian's beard

(II,5) which, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 53), was the subject of much ribaldry in the Syrian metropolis.

Prior to setting out for the Persian campaign, Julian had dispatched Count Alypius (*PLRE*, i, 46-7, Alypius 4), one of his most trusted commanders, to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem (*Amm.* XXIII,1,2). The Jews had a tradition of sacrifice which was terminated by the destruction of the Temple by Vespasian and this could not be revived without the great Temple being restored. Since Julian regarded no supplication as complete without sacrifice, and was then lauded as *restaurator templorum* (*AE* 1969, no. 70 and *Arce*, 1984, no. 125, p. 112 and 166-7; cf. Bowersock, 1978, 123 and Mazza, 1986, 48-50), the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem was a logical and expected step for him to take. However, the Christians saw the project as motivated less by his benevolence towards the Jews than by his desire to stir up conflict between Jews and Christians and to prove false the prophecy of Jesus that not one stone of the temple would be left upon another (*Artemii passio* 68, p. 242, ed. Kotter = GCS Philost., p. 95,17-22, *Greg. Naz., or.* V,3 14-20, ed. Bernardi, p. 298, *Chrys., Jud. et gent.*, XVI/9-10, *PG* 48.835B/C and *HcJul.* IV,20; cf. Bowersock, 1978, 88-89). Furthermore the Temple symbolized to Julian the apostasy of Christianity from Judaism. "He realized", as Wilken (1983,139) puts it succinctly, "that the very existence of Jewish communities called into question the claims of Christianity." The Jews were exultant and contributed generously to the work. Their hopes are epitomized by an inscription recently discovered by archaeologists while uncovering the Western Wall of the Temple which reads: "You shall see, and your heart shall rejoice; your bones shall flourish like the grass (Isaiah LXVI,14, cf. Mazar, 1975,94)." The rubble was cleared away and the foundations laid bare, but then a disastrous fire of mysterious origin accompanied by earthquake put an abrupt end to the project (*Amm.* XXIII,1,3, *Philost., h. e.* VII,9, p. 96,3-7, *Artemii passio* 68, p. 242, ed. Kotter = GCS Philost., p. 96,23-27, *Soc. h. e.* III,20,7-11, *Soz., h. e.* V,22, 5-10, *Thdt., h. e.* III,20,6-7 etc.). As at Daphne, arson could not be ruled out completely especially since Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem had earlier preached on the destruction of the temple in his fifteenth Catechetical lecture (edd. Reischl and Rupp, ii, pp. 152-202) and the Christians in the city might have been reminded of his sermon as the rebuilding work progressed (*Soc., h. e.* III,20,7; cf. Brock, 1977, 282). Though short-lived, the attempt to restore the most holy shrine of Judaism caused considerable excitement among the Jews of the Empire and in *HcJul.* (esp. I,16-19 and IV,18-23) we can see clearly the effects of it on relationships between Jews and Christians in Nisibis.

Like other major cities in the region (e. g. Edessa and Callinicum), Nisibis possessed an important Jewish community which had been famous for its contribution to Jewish learning since the Parthian times (cf. Neusner,

1977,13-14 and 70-73 and Segal, 1964, 38*-39*). And, like other Mesopotamian Jewish communities, the one at Nisibis might have facilitated the early spread of Christianity in this region (cf. Vööbus, 1958b, 6-7 and Segal, 1964, 41*-48*). But as the newer sect became more prominent and hierarchical, relationship between the two religious groups inevitably became strained. The cracks might have been papered over when the Persians were hammering at the gates but the attempt by Julian to place the Jewish religion on a new footing must have reopened old wounds. In nearby Edessa, according to a late Syriac source (Barhebraeus, *chron.* VII, p. 63, ed. Bedjan, trans. p. 61, Budge), the Jews were massacred by the Christians in retaliation for Julian's refusal to visit the city and his preference for pagan Harran (cf. Drijvers, 1985, 99-102). In the *HcJul.*, Ephrem regards the Jews as associates of Julian's idolatry - a totally scandalous charge as pious Jews had long waged their own war against idols. The figure of the bull on Julian's coins gave Ephrem a convenient *typos* for his poetic mind which was forever on the look-out for interconnecting symbols and images. The bull of the coin parallels the Golden Calf which the people of Israel had been misled into worshipping while Moses was on Mt. Sinai (Exodus XXXII, 15ff.). The tyrant had turned into a bull in the same way that Nabuchadnezzar of Babylon behaved like an ass and ate grass as the result of an illness, and it was not mere coincidence that both the calf and Julian were destroyed in the south (the calf in Sinai and Julian in Assuristan).

For Ephrem the death of Julian in battle was the ultimate proof of his error and of divine justice. The bits of information he provides on the expedition itself are not without interest. He is the only source to inform us of a letter of Julian to Nisibis in which he boasted that he would rebuild Singara (II,15 = *ELF* 91) and he was among the first to state that Julian was evidently duped by the Persians into setting fire to his transport fleet (II,18 and III,15). More tantalizing is his claim that Julian invited death by going unarmed into combat as he could not face the fact that he had been deceived (III,16) - a logical deduction based perhaps on his knowledge of the low state of the morale of the army since leaving Ctesiphon rather than on hard evidence. Of importance too is his remark on the strength of paganism in the Roman army which he saw as the reason for its lack of success against Persia since the time of Constantius (III,10).

The news of the pagan Emperor's death and the accession of the Christian Jovian brought the hope that the period of trial and refinement for the Church and the city was over. Ephrem's optimism is clearly shown in a verse of the *Carmina Nisibena* (XXI,14, CSCO 218, p. 57,16-20) composed probably just before the retreating Roman army reached the city:

Lo the fame of the new king, resounds and comes into the world!
To the spoiled he is a comfort, and to the spoilers a terror.

On the covetous vomiting has come, that they may render up all they have
swallowed.

Let them be put to fear from thee also, that between a priest
and a righteous king the former customs may be done away.
(Trans. Stopford p. 192).

In Ephrem's mind a state of harmony and equilibrium had existed between the episcopate of Jacob and the reign of Constantine, the same was true of Vologeses and Constantius. He had great hopes that the idyllic conditions of the two previous reigns would return with Jovian when one could once more expect the king to dispense justice and the priest, propitiations (*CNis.* XXI, 21-2, pp. 58,23-59,3). Ephrem, along with many citizens of Nisibis, was thus dumbfounded to discover that the city which they had so valiantly defended for thirty years had been made the sacrificial lamb for Julian's blunder (*HcJul.* II, 15-20). The mixture of grief and joy with which Ephrem greeted the combined sight of an alien flag floating over the battlements of his beloved city and of the corpse of the hated Julian passing by the wall is poignantly expressed in the Third Hymn (vv. 1-6). The flag and the corpse symbolized for Ephrem the unfathomable but sure justice of God. The enormity of Julian's crime was such that the penalty had to be most severe - not merely the death of the tyrant but also the loss to the enemies of the city which was the 'head of the areas between the rivers' (II,25) and the 'shield of all cities' (II,18). The theologian in him desperately tried to find the divine purpose behind the loss of a city which he believed to have been defended by divine power on three earlier occasions and the best explanation possible in the tragic circumstances was that the city was preserved under the godly Constantius because his prayers made his empire intact - passing over the loss of the three fortresses in 359/60 - and was lost under Julian as a punishment for his paganism (IV,15-16). No mention was made of the fact that it was the Christian Jovian who actually lost it on the negotiating table. As a polemicist, his personal grief was sublimated by the joy of being able to jeer at the dead emperor and he tried to mollify the grief over the loss of his native city by taking undue comfort in the initial tolerance which the Shahanshah had shown to the Christian inhabitants who had not fled in panic in the wake of the retreating Roman army (III,22-27). Shapur was undoubtedly full of admiration for the Nisibenes who had thrice defied the might of the Sassanian empire (III,23). However, the city was of such strategic value to him that he could not allow it to be inhabited purely by his enemies. He had made known his intention to populate conquered Roman cities with Iranian colonists before 350 (cf. *Jul., or.* I,27A/B, 22.6-8, ed. Bidez, p. 41). According to al-Tabari (trans. Nöldeke, 1879,63), the Shahanshah duly moved 12,000 people, many of noble birth, from the chief cities of Iran like Istachahr and Isfahan into Nisibis. Ephrem probably did not approve of the Iranization of his native city and in the end he made his own way, like so many of his fellow Nisibenes, to Amida where a refugee-camp had been established for them outside the

city (Malalas, *chron.* XII, pp. 336,21-337,2 and *Chron. Pasch.*, s. a. 363, p. 554,13-17, CSHB).

(3) Editions, translations etc.

The *HcJul.* were first published by J. Overbeck in his florilegium of Syriac writers: *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulaei episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta* (Oxford, 1865) pp. 3-20. They were translated into German with brief notes by G. Bickell in his article: 'Die Gedichte des hl. Ephräm gegen Julian den Apostaten', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, II (1878) pp. 335-56. Bickell's translation was republished with fuller introduction and notes by S. Euringer in *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, (Kempten and Munich, 1919) pp. 199-238. The most recent edition and the one on which the present translation is based is that of E. Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum*, CSCO 175 (text) and 176 (trans.), (Louvain, 1957). There is an unpublished Oxford B. Litt. thesis on the poems (with translation) by P. C. Robson, *A Study of Ephraem Syrus Hymns Against Julian the Apostate and the Jews* (Ms. B. Litt. d. 1411, 1969). Hymn IV,18-23 has been translated into English by Sebastian Brock in the appendix to his edition of the Syriac letter attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the rebuilding of the Temple (Brock, 1977, 283-4).

Since the publication of the First Edition of this book, Sidney Griffith (1986) has published a study of the *HcJul.*, particularly of its importance within the Syriac literary and theological tradition - an article which I would strongly advise all students of Julian to consult.

TRANSLATION

I

According to the tune "Rely on Truth".

- 1 The royal sceptre governed men
and cared for cities and chased away 'wild' animals;
the opposite was the sceptre of the King who turned to paganism.
The (wild) animals saw it and were glad,
and so did the wolves who (were) on his side; the leopard and the
lion raged
until even the foxes were raising their voices.¹
- 2 The wolves saw the clouds and the rain and the storm;
they summoned each other and were bold, they were in uproar
because they were hungry.
Because they were all hemmed in, they were all roused to anger,
and they surrounded the blessed flock.
The sceptre which made them glad, was broken and saddened them.
A broken reed² was the support of the Left.³
- 3 They fled to their former gloomy holes;
the fear which they had stripped off, they again put on in their dens.
Shining and glad was creation which had been mourning,
and they who had raised their heads were trampled underfoot.
The heads of Leviathan were crushed in the midst of the sea⁴
and his tail which had crawled (on land) was crushed in the midst of
the land.
- 4 Those who were dead while alive⁵ were aroused and awakened.
In that they believed they were alive, they were convicted of the
extent of their shame.
At the time when they were awakened, graven images were revived.
The idols condemn the liars,
for there is one deathly state for pagans and the tares⁶

¹ The response for the choir which is repeated at the end of every verse (see below II,1) has been inadvertently omitted from the first hymn by the scribe.

² I. e. Julian, now deceased. The image is borrowed from II Kings XVIII, 21.

³ I. e. evil power. Cf. Matt. XXV,33. On 'the Left' as the Kingdom of Evil and 'the Right' as the Kingdom of God see also *HcHaer.* I,1, CSCO 169, p. 1,11, see esp. Beck, comm. *ad loc.* (CSCO 170, p. 1, n. 2).

⁴ Cf. Psalm LXXIV, 13ff.

⁵ I. e. the pagans.

⁶ I. e. the heretics.

- because at the same time they all sought the one refuge.⁷
- 5 For at that very time filth seethed and threw up
reptiles of every size and worms of every kind.
The earth swarmed and was filled with them in the midst of
winter.⁸
- The breath of the dragon caused it (earth) to ferment.
Then he who was equipped with the sandal of truth
despised the venom of the stings, the sons of error.
- 6 They who rose up with the overthrown, fell (again) with the fallen
one.⁹
- They regained strength and imagined that they were still able to
stand.
The fools held on to each other and they all tottered and fell.
Their fall testified to their cause of stumbling;
for although they were divided, they were alike in the cause of
offence
- because they were united together by one love to the one king.¹⁰
- 7 At the time when the demons rejoiced, they were suddenly revived
with them;
at the time when the Evil One exulted, they were glad at it.
It was as if by secret (agreement) that
time marshalled them all together to cling to the one.
They made themselves brothers and members of each other
for all of them adhered to the head of the Left.
- 8 For while the Right was gloomy because of the sinners,
the children of the Left were rejoicing greatly.
The angels are glad only when the (sinners) make penitence
the fools did the opposite without discernment,
the church alone agreed with the angels in both things
in that she grieved because of sinners and rejoiced at penitents.
- 9 The Evil One (i. e. Satan) saw that he had intoxicated and disturbed
men,
rejoiced and did so more, and scorned free will.
For how much had men enslaved their souls to him!

⁷ J.'s policy of toleration allowed both pagans and heretics to flourish. See above pp. 41-44.

⁸ Julian became emperor in the winter of 361/2. I have followed here the view of Euringer (1919, 214, n. 4 and 215, nn. 3-4) that *HcJul.* I, 1-11 describes the attempted pagan revival in general and I have found little to support the view expressed by Robson (1969, 4-6) that these verses refer to actual events and conditions experienced by the retreating Roman army.

⁹ The pro-pagan enactments of J. were annulled by his successor Jovian who was a devout Christian.

¹⁰ I. e. Julian the Apostate.

- The Evil One was amazed at how much he had rent us;
while the fools who were torn in pieces did not feel pain in their ills:
although the physician was at hand they neglected the cure.
- 10 The month of Shebat (February), hateful and gloomy;¹¹ casting
gloom on all -
snatched for itself the beauty of Nisan (April) which brings joy to all.
In it thistles and tares were brought forth and flourished.¹²
Dessicating ice moistened
the brambles in the inner rooms and the thistles in the courtyards.
The naked and the barefoot trembled at that time.
- 11 The late seed,¹³ how it feared and quaked!
For it was not sown and established with labour.
It was the after-crop and the produce of that which sprouted within
the earth.
That which came to the surface quickly was uprooted,
but the seed of labour which took root abundantly,
its fruit came a hundred-fold and sixty-fold and thirty-fold.
- 12 The righteous kings,¹⁴ like two oxen
had made (equal and) yoked together the two Testaments¹⁵
with the yoke of harmony; they had ploughed and set the land in
order.
(The) thorns clothed themselves in the beauty of the wheat
and the seed spread out its colour even over the weeds.
Of their own accord they stripped off the beauty which they took off
again.
- 13 Some among them were thorns and others among them were wheat,
among them was gold and among them were ashes.
The tyrant¹⁶ was the refining fire for the beauty of the faithful.

¹¹ J.'s edicts for the restoration of paganism were mostly enacted in the winter of 361/2. Cf. sources collected in *ELF* 42, pp. 47-9. Or, this could be a reference to his usurpation which took place in early February in Paris. Cf. Szidat, 1977, 129.

¹² A reference perhaps to the patronage enjoyed by pagan theurgists like Maximus of Ephesus.

¹³ I. e. those who became Christians in order to seek personal advancement under Constantine and Constantius.

¹⁴ I. e. Constantine and Constantius. The two Christian emperors are spoken of as 'the kings who gave shade (and) refreshed us in the heart' by E. in *Eccl.* 15 (CSCO 174, p. 70,7). See below n. 48.

¹⁵ Unlike the followers of Marcion and Mani, the two emperors did not reject the authority of the Old Testament.

¹⁶ The Syriac word *trwn'* ܬܪܝܢ is derived from the Gk. *τύρρανος*. It is a perfect term for the Hellenising emperor and from its resemblance to the word *trn'* ܬܪܢ

- Who has seen such a glorious sight
 where truth came and was proved in the refining fire of deceit?
 Error, without being aware, extolled the faithful.
- 14 All who deny Christ rejoiced at the Apostate
 and the sons of the Left at the head of the Left;
 in him they could see what they themselves were
 for he was a mirror to them all.
 Rejoicing at his victory, they shared a part with him,
 just as from his death shame befell them!
- 15 For the church alone was totally opposed to him,
 and the Jews and he together were totally opposed to it (i. e. the
 Church).
 This (fact) sufficed to show without any dispute
 that they were on one side and the Church on the other.
 The furtive ones who were thought not to belong to them
 speedily associated themselves with them in a chain.
- 16 The (Jewish) People raged and raved and sounded the trumpets;
 they rejoiced because he was a diviner, they were overjoyed
 because he was a Chaldaean¹⁷
 The circumcised saw the image which unexpectedly had become a
 bull;
 on his coins they saw the bull, a thing of shame,
 and they began celebrating it with cymbals and trumpets
 because they saw in that bull their calf of former times.¹⁸
- 17 The bull of paganism which was engraved in his heart,
 he imprinted on that (coin) face that image for the People who loved
 it.¹⁹

'flint' (cf. verb: *trn* ܬܪܢ 'to become hard, indurated' or 'petrified') it can also mean 'contumacious' or 'rebellious'. Cf. Robson, 1980, 37.

¹⁷ The word is used generally to mean an astrologer or sorcerer in both pagan and Patristic literature.

¹⁸ Cf. Exodus XXXII, 1-35. A double insinuation as the Golden Calf was hardly a standard object of veneration by the Jews.

¹⁹ J. issued a new large bronze coin type during his stay in Antioch which has on the reverse a bull with two stars. The exact significance of this is unknown. Christian writers mention the depiction of a bull about to be sacrificed on the coins of J. (Soc., *h. e.* III, 17, 5 and Soz., *h. e.* V, 19, 2) and they may be referring to the same coins. Modern scholars have seen it either as signifying the 'Apis' bull, a symbol of prosperity and one was discovered in Egypt in 363 after much searching (Amm. XXII, 14, 6, cf. Kent, 1954, 216-217 and 1959, 117 and pl. XI, 15) or the zodiac representation of J. who might have been born under the sign of Taurus (cf. Gilliard, 1964, 141). E.'s readiness to confuse it with the Golden Calf may well indicate that he too was ignorant of its real significance. Cf. Bowersock, 1978, 104. See also Griffith, 1987, 254. The 'evil calf' of the Egyptians is also denounced by E. in *HFid.* 87, 4, CSCO 154, p. 268, 1-2.

- Maybe the Jews cried out to that bull
 "Behold the gods who lead up
 your captives from Babel, to the land which they laid waste
 just as the molten calf led you up from Egypt."²⁰
- 18 The king, the king of Babel, suddenly became a wild ass
 and he learned to be subjugated; he who used to kick did not kick.²¹
 The king, the king of Greece,²² suddenly became a bull
 and butted the churches and had to be led away.
 The circumcised saw the bull which was engraven on the stater
 and they rejoiced that the calves of Jeroboam were reawakened.²³
- 19 Maybe at that silver on which was depicted the bull,
 the Jews rejoiced, in that it was in his heart
 and also in his wallet and it was placed in his hand,
 - like that calf of the wilderness,
 which was before his eyes and his heart and his mind
 and maybe he used to see the calf in his dreams.²⁴
- 20 The king, the king of Babel, went mad and left for the desert.
 He (God) caused him to wander about - that he might be returned to
 normal,
 he made him mad that he might come to his senses.
 He rejoiced God and gladdened Daniel.²⁵
 The king, the king of Greece, was rebuked
 because he provoked God to anger and rejected Daniel
 and there, near Babel,²⁶ he was judged and found guilty.

²⁰ A satirical adaptation of Exodus XXXII,8.

²¹ I. e. Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon who according to the Jewish scriptures (Daniel IV, 24-25 and 32-33) became temporarily insane. He was banished from human society and ate grass like oxen.

²² I. e. Julian.

²³ During the period of the Two Kingdoms, Jeroboam, King of Israel was said to have made two golden calves and set them up at Bethel and Dan so that his people would worship them instead of going to Jerusalem which was controlled by his rival Rehoboam, the King of Judah. Cf. I Kings, 12,25-33.

²⁴ Nebuchadnezzar was forewarned of his madness in a dream. Cf. Daniel IV, 16-17.

²⁵ Possibly a reference to Daniel's vision on the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. See below n. 94.

²⁶ J. was killed at a place called Phrygia (Amm. XXV,3,9), in Persia, the exact location of which is not known. However judging from the distance the Romans would have covered since their departure from Ctesiphon, the place could not have been too far east of the Sassanian province of Assuristan which included the ancient city of Babylon.

II

According to the same tune, against Julian

- 1 The wolf had borrowed for itself the clothing of the lamb of truth,
and the simple sheep smelt him and did not recognise him.
He greatly deceived that shepherd²⁷ who died,
and then the wolf came out from within the lamb,
he took off and cast away his beauty. The goats picked up his
smell and hated the sheep, and loved him as a shepherd.
RESPONSE: Blessed be he who blotted him out and saddened all the
sons of error.
- 2 They rejoiced over him because he was a Chaldaean and exulted
over him because he was a diviner,
they were exalted because he had become a king and they were
glad because he was a priest,²⁸
and they rejoiced because he had filled the position of many,
of kings and queens of the race
of Ahab and Jeroboam, of Jotham and of Manassah,
of Jezebel and of Athaliah, the founts of paganism.²⁹
- 3 They rejected the Saviour, the witness of the True One (God),
who, when they asked him, taught that God was one alone.³⁰
They crucified him in that they were pagans and went astray with the
many (sc. gods)
and they rejoiced over the defiled pledge.
With his sacrifices he (sc. Julian) hired and brought ten gods
so that they might heap up their sheaves of thorns for Gehenna.³¹
- 4 He led forth his gods and goddesses, whom he forged.
He put on augury along with the diviners and necromancers,³²
and all the sons of error provided him with prayers
and he set out with promises of great things.

²⁷ I. e. Constantius. On J.'s nominal devotion to Christianity which he maintained until his uncle's death see above pp. 41-42.

²⁸ On J. as *pontifex maximus* see above, p. 41.

²⁹ Kings and queens of Israel and Judah who were noted for their encouragement of the worship of Baal. A similar list is also given in Greg. Naz., *or.* V, 3.3-10, ed. Bernardi, pp. 296-298.

³⁰ Cf. Mark XII, 29.

³¹ A reference to the parable of the wheat and the tares in Matt. XIII, 24-30.

³² E. implies here that J. armed himself with the powers of sorcery for the Persian expedition. A considerable number of pagan philosophers and theurgists accompanied J. on his campaign among whom were Maximus, Priscus and Oribasius (Amm. XXV, 3, 23, Eunap., *v. soph.* VII, 4, 9-10 and Philost., *h. e.* VII, 15, p. 103, 2, GCS).

He took his chariot and made it fall and he brought
to all his followers a crown of disgrace.

- 5 The goddesses went tumultuously along with his gods
and because he had renounced modesty³³ he was not ashamed to
proclaim
gods who were impassioned for goddesses.
He was for them he-goat and priest
and for (the thing of) shame he grew his beard long like a Nazirite³⁴
and he bowed down so that the incense of the smoke (of sacrifice)
might ascend through it.
- 6 The festival of the abominable goddess³⁵ delighted him
because during her feast women and men raved,
young maidens prostituted themselves and married women
indulged in excesses
and vomited forth, uttering shameful words.
He delighted in impure festivals and despised the blessed
feast days of chastity and the Passover of virtue.
- 7 The pagans carried their idols and ran riot,
and the circumcised (i. e. the Jews) sounded the trumpets and waved
madly,
and all of them chanted and were without restraint.
The feast was like the one in the wilderness;
the Good One who chastened those stirred up by the one calf
is he who chastened many stirred up by the one king.
- 8 He broke that calf in pieces in order to bring the tumult to an end,
and he unfastened that crown in order to sever the frenzy.
Like a physician he cut out the cause of the tumult
and in the south both of them were overthrown.
By means of hard iron he destroyed that calf
and with a fearful javelin he destroyed that King.
- 9 The he-goats of the breed of that yearling goat,
who let their ringlets grow and stank with their beards
surrounded the black one who did not look on a marriage.³⁶

³³ An unfounded assertion as J. was renowned for his chastity. Cf. Amm. XXV,4,2. See above p. 24.

³⁴ J.'s philosopher's beard was an object of ribaldry at Antioch. Cf. Jul., *misop.* 3,338B-339B. See also Greg. Naz., *or.* V,5.1-3 ed. Bernardi, p. 302 and Zon. XIII,13,36. A Nazirite was a Jew who had made a special vow not to drink wine or cut his beard. Cf. Numbers, VI,1-21.

³⁵ I. e. Aphrodite. Cf. Chrys., *de. S. Babyla* XIV/77-78, PG 50.554-5, trans. above, pp. 60-61.

³⁶ J. did not marry again after the death of his wife Helena, the youngest sister of Constantius, in 360. Cf. Amm. *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33).

He led a life of abstinence and was kept pure to his shame (i. e. Aphrodite).

The flocks of the Left stirred up with their oracles
the goat which set out and became a victim in Persia.

- 10 They broke with their oracles the reed of the tare,
the prop and pillar on which were supported
the thorns, the people of his kind, and the brambles, his kindred.
He threatened the wheat at his descent,
that he would return and cover them with the thorny tangle of his
paganism.

The Husbandman of Justice destroyed the tare.

- 11 He was the thorn bush, as it is written, which was exalted and
arrogant,
which threatened to bend down cedars and cypresses
and wished to make great the thistles and tares.
(God) made him a broom and (he) did not succeed -
the Just One swept up with him the abomination of paganism
and took and hurled his paganism to a remote place.

- 12 That truth should conquer each one individually would be a small
thing;
it gathered together and bound the diviners and augurs to one King
and gave them the opportunity, (so) they put on helmets and armour,
and through the one man it conquered them all.
Over them all was spread out a measuring line of dishonour
for the sons of error acted deceitfully, all of them in everything.
- 13 And if they all acted deceitfully together with their oracles
how much did each one deceive with his oracle by and for himself!
The swine came down and grovelled in their loathsome mud;
that was the herd which defiled the world,
for they came down and were defiled, they went up and shook
themselves and it happened and happens now that they lead many
astray.

- 14 The King, the king of Babel reproved the guilt of the Chaldaeans.
He did not go on to call the rest because he had tried one in the
person of one individual;
he ejected and expelled them and gave them for execution.³⁷
He renounced them (Chaldaeans) who were of his own (religion)
if they had deceived him, how much more would they deceive you!
If all of them have misled, who then will believe a single one of
them!

- 15 But he gave omens and promises and wrote and (sent) to us
that he was setting out and subduing and would lay bare Persia,

³⁷ Cf. Daniel II, 12. Nebuchadnezzar commanded that all the Chaldaeans in his realm be executed for failing to interpret his dream.

- that he would rebuild Singara - the threat of his letter.³⁸
 Nisibis (was taken) through his descent (into battle),
 and by his diviners (he brought low) the host³⁹ who believed in him;
 like a (sacrificial) lamb the city saved his camp.⁴⁰
- 16 (God) had appointed Nisibis, which was taken, as a mirror⁴¹
 so that we might see in it how the pagan, who had set out (i.e. for
 Persia)
 because he took what was not his, lost what was his -
 that city which proclaimed to the world
 the disgrace of his diviners and that (his) shame was unending;
 (God) had delivered it to a steadfast, untiring herald.
- 17 This is the herald who, with four mouths,⁴²
 cried out in the earth the shame of his diviners,
 and the gates, that during the siege were opened, also unlocked
 our mouth to the praise of our redeemer.
 Today the gates of that city are shut fast
 so that through them the mouth of the pagans and the erring is
 closed.⁴³
- 18 Let us seek the reason how and wherefore
 they yielded that city, the shield of all cities.⁴⁴
 The insane one (i. e. Julian) raved and set on fire his ships near the
 Tigris.
 The bearded ones deceived him,⁴⁵ and he did not perceive it,
 he the goat who avowed that he knew the secrets;

³⁸ J. had arrogantly told the citizens of Nisibis that they would not be accorded any special protection by him on account of their refusal to restore pagan worship. Cf. *Soz., h. e.* V,3,5 = *ELF* 91. See also *ibid.* 202, p. 278, 17-19. Singara, a fortress on the Tigris frontier was captured by the Persians in 360. Cf. *Amm.* XX,6,7. See above, Introduction, pp. 89 and 99-101.

³⁹ E. shows little sympathy for the Roman army which he saw as a stronghold of paganism. See below, n. 66.

⁴⁰ On the negotiation which led to the surrender of the city see above, Introduction, pp. 94.

⁴¹ On E.'s use of the image of the mirror see *CNis.* XVI, 1-6, *CSCO* 218, p. 43,4-22, trans. Stopford, p. 185. Cf. Beck, 1953, *passim*, esp. 11-12.

⁴² I. e. the four gates of the city of Nisibis.

⁴³ E. regards J.'s apostasy as the cause for the loss of Nisibis even though it was Jovian who negotiated it away to the Persians.

⁴⁴ On the three sieges see esp. the sources given in *PW*, s. v. 'Nisibis', cols. 741,55-746,59 (Sturm) and above, Introduction, pp. 95-96.

⁴⁵ E. was one of the earliest sources to assert that J. was a victim of Persian duplicity in his decision to burn the fleet. See above, Introduction, pp. 92-93. The beard was for E. a sign of an oriental. Cf. *HcHaer.* VIII,11, *CSCO* 169, p. 33,5.

he was deceived in visible things so he was put to shame in the non-visible.

- 19 It is the city which had proclaimed the truth of its saviour;⁴⁶
the waters suddenly burst out and smote against it,
earthworks were brought low and elephants were
drowned.⁴⁷

The (Christian) king by his sackcloth had preserved it,⁴⁸
the tyrant by his paganism debased the victory
of the city which prayer had crowned with triumph.

- 20 Truth was its wall and fasting its bulwark.
The Magians came threatening and Persia was put to shame through
them,
Babel through the Chaldaeans and India through the enchanterers.⁴⁹
For thirty years truth had crowned it⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Christianity was already established at Nisibis before the end of the 2nd C. as attested by the sepulchral inscription of Abercius Marcellus (line 10, edd. Ludtke and Nissen) and besides being a major centre of the faith in Mesopotamia it also supplied a succession of church leaders for Salona on the Adriatic coast in the early fourth century. Cf. Egger, 1962, i, 186-8 and Harnack, 1924, ii, 796, n. 3.

⁴⁷ In the third siege (350), the Persians sent their elephants across ground which could not take their weight and some perished when they sank into the mud. Cf. Jul., *or.* II, 65D-66A (III, 12.41-56, ed. Bidez, p. 136).

⁴⁸ According to Christian legend an apparition of Constantius was seen on the battlements of Nisibis during the first siege which greatly infuriated Shapur as the Roman emperor was known to be still at Antioch. Cf. Thdt., *h. e.* II, 30, 9-10 GCS and *Hist. S. Ephr.*, col. 17, ed. Lamy. He did not, in fact, visit the city until May 345 (*CT* XI, 7, 5). E. believed that Constantius's devotion to Christianity was the main reason for the survival of Nisibis. His admiration for the Emperor was not diminished by the latter's devotion to Arianism as he saw the controversy as one between bishops rather than between church and sovereign. Cf. Ephr., *HFid.*, LXXXVII, 21-23, CSCO 154, p. 271, 4-18. Compared with J.'s apostasy, the Arian sympathies of Constantius were mere trifles and the latter also won the praise of Gregory of Nazianzus in his attack on the same emperor (*or.* IV, 34.1-2, ed. Bernardi, p. 132). On this see esp. Murray, 1975, 111-12.

⁴⁹ E. has a tendency to use the term 'Indian' merely to mean oriental. See e. g. *HcHaer.* III, 7, CSCO 169, p. 12, 12, where the heresiarch Mani was accused of having introduced the 'falsehood from India.' Cf. Beck, 1978, 25 and Lieu, 1985, 56-7. However, the Sassanian Empire then stretched all the way from Mesopotamia to the foothills of the Hindu Kush and contingents (esp. of elephant-handlers) from regions like Turan and Pashkibur might have taken part in the sieges of Nisibis. Cf. Jul., *or.* II, 62C/D (III, 11.10-12, ed. Bidez, p. 132).

⁵⁰ His reign was in actual fact 26 years long (337-363). However, Constantius was put in charge of the war against the Persians in 335/6 while he was still Caesar (cf. Lib., *or.* LIX, 72, Jul., *or.* I, 13B (9.46-52, ed. Bidez, pp. 24-25), *Artemii passio* 8, ed. Kotter, pp. 205-206 = GCS Philost., p. 28, 12-15 and Zon., XIII, 4, 28). The period of his command of the affairs of the East is therefore only slightly short of thirty years.

(but) in the summer in which he established an idol within the city⁵¹
mercy fled from it and wrath pursued and entered it.

- 21 For empty sacrifices rendered void its fullness;
demons of the waste laid it waste with libations;
the (pagan) altar which was built uprooted and cast out
that sanctuary whose sack-cloth had delivered us (i.e the city).⁵²
Festivals of frenzy reduced to silence its feast,
because the sons of error ministered, they made void its
ministrations.
- 22 The Magian who entered our place, kept it holy, to our shame,⁵³
he neglected his temple of fire and honoured the sanctuary,
he cast down the altars which were built through our laxity,⁵⁴
he abolished the enclosures, to our shame,
for he knew that from that one temple alone had gone out
the mercy which had saved us from him three times.
- 23 How much has truth shown its face in our city!

⁵¹ I. e. the summer of 363. Acc. to Sozomen (*h. e.* V,3,5) J. refused to accord any protection to Nisibis or receive their embassy unless he heard that they had returned to paganism. One must assume from the following statements of E. that a number of pagan temples were reintroduced. See also Griffith, 1987, 256-258.

⁵² In times of affliction such as a long siege, the (Christian) sanctuary at Nisibis would be covered in sack-cloth and the priest would also be similarly dressed for mourning. Cf. Ephr., *CNis* IV,27, CSCO 218, p. 17,22-24. Eng. trans. Stopford, p. 173. On the importance of the sack cloth to the protection of the city, see esp. Ephr., *Memra XV on Nicomedia* which has survived only in Armenian (ed. and trans. Renoux, 1975, 311-27, esp. lines 53-62 and 97-130).

⁵³ Shapur II, here termed 'The Magian', was noted in Christian sources as a persecutor of Christians. Cf. Soz., *h. e.* II,9,1 -14,5, *Acta Martyrum Persarum*, (Syr.) ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* II (Leipzig 1891) pp. 351-96, (Gk.) ed. Delehay, *PO*, II (1907) pp. 405-560. The most famous of the victims of his persecution in the 340's was Simeon Bar Sabba'e, the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and Catholicos of the Persian Church who defied the Shahanshah's order to raise a special tribute from the Christian community in Persia. Cf. *Martyrium Beati Simeonis Bar Sabba'e 15 ad fin.*, ed. Kmosko, *Patrologia Syriaca* II (Paris, 1907) cols. 742-78 and Soz., *loc. cit.* His respect for Christianity at Nisibis is therefore surprising and was likely to be influenced by political considerations rather than religious sentiments. The protection he accorded to the Christian sanctuary reminds us of the sparing of the Temple of Apollo at Daphne from the torch by Shapur I (*Lib.*, or. LX,2-3, trans. *supra*, pp. 72 and 77) which makes one suspect that both E. and Libanius were using the inaction of the respective Persian kings as signs of alien wisdom which fortify their points of view. We learn from a letter of Vologeses, the Bishop of Nisibis, summarized in the *Chronicon Paschale* (*s. a.* 350, p. 538,1 CSHB), that Shapur II was regarded by the Christian inhabitants of the city as a 'New Pharaoh'.

⁵⁴ It is difficult to discover what would have motivated Shapur to destroy the pagan altars unless they bore dedications to J. his erstwhile enemy. On the other hand we know from the Syriac life of Ephrem (1, col.3, ed. Lamy) that the pagan idol of Abnil or Abizal at Nisibis was destroyed by Jovian.

In our breaches it revealed itself to all regions,
 until even the blind saw it in our preservation.
 The (Persian) king discerned it in our deliverance
 and because he had seen it outside our city in the victory,
 when he entered the city he honoured it with gifts.

- 24 The battle was the refining fire and the king saw within it
 how beautiful was truth, how shameful deceit;
 he came to know through experience the Lord of that house,
 that he is good and also just in all things,
 for (when) he wearied him, he (God) did not give him the city
 because it believed in him,
 but when the sacrifices provoked him to anger he
 delivered it without trouble.
- 25 That city which was the head of the area between the rivers
 preserved the sack-cloth of the blessed one⁵⁵ and was exalted.
 The tyrant by his blasphemy had abased it and it was humbled.
 Who has weighed its shame, how great it was!
 For the city which was head of all that West
 they have made the last heels of all that East.
- 26 Let not the city be thought of like (i. e. other) cities,
 for so many times has the Good One delivered it from Sheol, -
 the battle under the earth⁵⁶ and the battle above it,
 and because it rejected its Saviour, he deserted it.
 The Just One, whose wrath is powerful, mixed with anger his
 compassion
 in that he did not send us into captivity or expel us, he made us to
 dwell in our land.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ I. e. Constantius II, here contrasted with J., the 'tyrant'.

⁵⁶ Tunnelling was a standard practice in siege-warfare in this period and was much used by the Sassanians. Cf. *PW Suppl.* VII, s. v. 'Dura' cols. 149,48-62 (Watzinger). J. himself used ships to shelter his tunnelling engineers at Maiozamalcha (Amm. XXIV,4,12-24 and Lib., or. XVIII, 237-9 and Zos., III,21,4-22,6) and the same might have been attempted by Shapur against Nisibis in the third siege (350) when he surrounded the city with dykes and flooded the ground about the walls in order that he could bring his siege-engines up against the ramparts on boats. Cf. Jul., or. I,27 B/D (I,22.10-27, ed. Bidez, pp. 41-2) and or. II,62B-63A (III, 11.3-29, ed. Bidez, pp. 132-3). See also Thdt., h. rel. I,11.15, edd. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, i, p. 184.

⁵⁷ This implies that the inhabitants of Nisibis were not taken as prisoners to Persia as was the customary practice with conquered Roman cities. Cf. *Chronicon Seertensis* (Arabic) 2, ed. Scher, *PO* (1908) 220-21 and *Narratio de Beato Simeone Bar Sabba'e* 25, ed. Kmosko, *Patrologia Syriaca* II (Paris, 1907) col. 831. (See also Amm. XXIV,1,12 and Lib., or. LIX,83 which show that the reverse of this policy was practised by the Romans with regard to captured Persian cities.) It does not necessarily mean that the Roman inhabitants were welcome to stay and E.'s testimony therefore is not in direct contradiction to the account of the evacuation of the city by Ammianus. See Intro., p. 94.

- 27 While the (our) king was a (pagan) priest and dishonoured our churches,
 the Magian king honoured the sanctuary.
 He doubled our consolation because he honoured our sanctuary,
 he grieved and gladdened us and did not banish us.
 (God) reproved that erring one through his companion in error,
 What the priest abundantly defrauded, the Magian made abundant restitution.

III

According to the same tune

- 1 A fortuitous wonder! There met me near the city
 the corpse of that accursed one which passed by the wall;⁵⁸
 the banner which was sent from the East wind
 the Magian took and fastened on the tower⁵⁹
 so that a flag might point out for spectators
 that the city was the slave of the lords of that banner.
 RESPONSE: Praise to him who clothed his corpse in shame.
 2 I was amazed as to how it was that there met and were present
 the body and the standard, both at the same time.
 And I knew that it was a wonderful preparation of justice
 that while the corpse of the fallen one was passing,
 there went up and was placed that fearsome banner so that it might
 proclaim that
 the injustice of his diviners had delivered that city.
 3 For thirty years Persia made war in every way
 and was not able to cross the boundary of that city.

Chrysostom in a passage of the *de S. Babyla* (XXII/123, PG 50.569-70, not given in the previous translation) agrees in general with Ammianus: "The spectacle was more miserable than any other captivity. For the inhabitants of that city (i.e. Nisibis) were treated with hostility by those from whom they would expect to receive favours in as much as they, like a bulwark, had placed everyone within a safe haven, always putting themselves forward on behalf of everyone else in the face of all dangers. Yet they were moved to alien territory, abandoning their own fields, and wrenched from their ancestral possessions and suffering all this at the hands of their own kinsmen." Cf. Turcan, 1966, 881. The fact that E. did not remain in the city for long argues against a general desire among the Romans to stay.

⁵⁸ The corpse of J. was conveyed past Nisibis on its way to burial in Cilicia.

⁵⁹ According to Ammianus (XXV,9,1) the Persian flag was raised over Nisibis by the satrap Bineses.

Even when it was breached and lying low,⁶⁰ the Cross went down
and saved it.

There I saw a foul sight,
the banner of the captor, which was fixed on the tower,
the body of the persecutor, which was lying on the bier.

- 4 Believe in 'Yes and No',⁶¹ the word that is true
I went and came, my brethren, to the bier of the defiled one
and I stood over it and I derided his paganism,
I said: Is this he who exalted himself
against the living name and who forgot that he is dust?⁶²
(God) has returned him to within his dust that he might know that he
is dust.
- 5 I stood and was amazed at him whose humiliation I earnestly
observed.
For this is his magnificence, and this his pride,
this is his majesty, and this his chariot,
this is earth which is decayed.
And I debated with myself why, during his prime,
I did not see in anticipation his end, that it was this.
- 6 I was amazed at the many who, in order to try to please
the crown of a mortal, had denied him who gives life to all.
I looked above and below and marvelled, my brethren,
at our Lord in that glorious height,
and the accursed one in low estate, and I said: Who will be afraid
of that corpse and deny the True One?
- 7 That the Cross when it had set out had not conquered everything
was not because it was not able to conquer, for it is victorious,
but, so that a pit might be dug for the wicked man,
who set out with his diviners to the East,
when he set out and was wounded, it was seen by the discerning
that the war had waited for him so that through it he might be put to
shame.
- 8 Know that for this reason the war had lasted and delayed -

⁶⁰ The siege-engines mounted on ships deployed against the city in 350 succeeded in making a breach in the wall but the Persians were driven back by the defenders in their attempt to storm it. Cf. *Jul. or II* 63A-67A (III, 11.26-13.30, ed. Bidez, pp. 133-38). In the more legendary account of the first siege (see above pp. 107-8) the wall was also breached by flood water.

⁶¹ Cf. Matt. V, 37: "Let what you say be 'Yes' or 'No', anything more than this comes from evil." (R.S.V.).

⁶² Cf. Genesis III, 19.

so that the pure one⁶³ might complete the years of his reign
and that the accursed one might also complete the measure of his
paganism.

So when he completed his course and came to ruin,
then (both) sides were glad, then there was peace
through the believing King,⁶⁴ the associate of the glorious ones.⁶⁵

- 9 The Just One was able to finish him off with every way of dying
but he kept him for that fearsome and bitter humiliation
so that on the day of his death there was arrayed before his eyes
everything -

where is that divination which gave him assurance,
and the goddess of weapons who did not come to help him,
and the companies of his gods who did not come to save him?

- 10 The Cross of him who knows all, went down before the army,
it endured and was mocked, 'He does not save them!'
The king it kept in safety, the army it gave to destruction
because it knew that paganism was within them.⁶⁶

Therefore let the cross of him who searches all be praised
for fools without discrimination reproached him at that time.

- 11 For they did not hold fast to the banner of he who redeems all;
indeed, that paganism which they exhibited at the end
was evident to our Lord from the beginning.
Although he knew well that they were turning to paganism,
his cross saved them; and when they rejected him,
there they ate corpses,⁶⁷ there they became a proverb.

⁶³ I. e. Constantius II who died while trying to repair the damages inflicted by Shapur's successful raids against his defences along the Tigris. See above, Introduction, pp. xii-xiii.

⁶⁴ I. e. Jovian.

⁶⁵ I. e. Constantine and Constantius. See above n. 14.

⁶⁶ E. implies that the defeats suffered by the Roman army under Constantius were due to its paganism while the person of the Emperor himself was made safe by his faith. We know that he raided Adiabene on a number of occasions at the beginning of his reign. Cf. <Jul. Val. Polemius>, *itinerarium Alexandri* 1-3, ed. Volkmann, *Jul., or. I, 22A/B Lib., orr.* LIX, 76-87 and XVIII, 207 and *CIL* III, 3705. He also opposed an attack across the Tigris near Singara led by Shapur II and his crown prince which resulted in a long drawn out action with heavy losses to both sides (343 or 344 or 348, see above, p. iv; on dating see Barnes, 1980, 163, n. 13). But Sabinus, one of the leading citizens of Nisibis, in his plea before Jovian in 363, mentioned an occasion (undatable) when Constantius was forced to take refuge with a few companions in an unprotected frontier post (Amm. XXV, 9, 3. Cf. Fontaine, 1977, ii, 271-2, n. 686). E. at least made no attempt to disguise Constantius's lack of success against the Persians in the field. The devotion of the Roman army to paganism is also noted by al-Tabari, trans. Nöldeke, 1879, 62. See also Griffith, 1987, 247-248.

⁶⁷ On the plight of the retreating army see Amm. XXV.7, 14 and Zos. III, 30, 5.

- 12 When the (Jewish) people were defeated near Ai of the faint hearted,⁶⁸
 Joshua tore his clothes before the ark of the covenant
 and uttered dreadful words before the Most High;
 there was a curse among the people and he did not know -
 just as there was paganism hidden in the force
 while, instead of the ark of the covenant, they were carrying the
 Cross.
- 13 So justice herself had in wisdom summoned him,
 not indeed by force did it guide his free will;
 through enticement he set out towards that spear to be wounded.
 He saw the fortifications which he subdued and he was proud;⁶⁹
 but adversity did not incite him to turn back⁷⁰
 until he had gone down and fallen into the abyss.
- 14 Because he dishonoured him who had removed the spear of
 Paradise,⁷¹
 the spear of justice passed through his belly.⁷²
 They tore open that which was pregnant with the oracle of the
 diviners,
 and (God) scourged (him) and he groaned and remembered
 what he wrote and published that he would do to the churches.
 The finger of justice had blotted out his memory.
- 15 The king saw that the sons of the East had come and deceived him,
 the unlearned (had deceived) the wise man, the simple the
 soothsayer.
 They whom he had called, wrapped up in his robe,

⁶⁸ Cf. Joshua VII, 1-26. Joshua sent an inadequate force against Ai which is near Beth-aven and was defeated whereupon the hearts of the people of Israel melted and became as water. The cause of the defeat was traced to a curse brought about by a certain Achan who had coveted and hidden some spoils. He and his family were stoned to death and Ai was eventually taken.

⁶⁹ I. e. the cities which he took en route to Ctesiphon such as Anatha, Diacira, Pirisabora, and Maiozamalcha. See above, Introduction, pp. 90-91.

⁷⁰ Withdrawal by the same route was considered by the Roman commanders at the council before Ctesiphon but was seen as the less advantageous alternative. See above, Introduction, pp. 92-93.

⁷¹ Through his death, Christ had opened the way of salvation to man and the flaming sword which debarred the re-entry of Adam and Eve to Paradise (cf. Genesis III,24) is thus removed. In his poems Ephrem sees the spear which pierced the side of Christ as the instrument by which the damage of the serpent in the Garden of Eden was undone. Cf. Brock, 1975, 11-13.

⁷² That J. died of a spear wound is found in most sources. Cf. Amm. XXV,3,6, Lib., or. XVIII, 268, Zon. XIII,13,20 etc. Zosimus (III,29,1) however, claims he was struck by a sword. See also Iohn Lydus, *de mensibus*, IV,118, p. 157,5, ed. Wünsch.

- had, through unlearned men, mastered his wisdom.
 He commanded and burned his victorious ships,⁷³
 and his idols and diviners were bound through the one deceit.
- 16 When he saw that his gods were refuted and exposed,
 and that he was unable to conquer and unable to escape,
 he was prostrated and torn between fear and shame.
 Death he chose so that he might escape in Sheol
 and cunningly he took off his armour in order to be wounded⁷⁴
 so that he might die without the Galilaeans seeing his shame.
- 17 When he mocked and nicknamed the brethren 'Galilaeans'.⁷⁵
 behold in the air the wheels⁷⁶ of the Galilaean King!
 He thundered in his chariot, cherubim were carrying him.
 The Galilaean made known and handed over
 the flock of the diviner to the wolves in the wilderness
 but the Galilaean flock increased and filled the earth.

IV

According to the same tune

- 1 Oh, how skilful was the refining fire which proved the king's
 daughter!⁷⁷
 He made her glad, but she did not rejoice; he made her mournful, but
 she was not afraid;
 he gave to her, but she did not take; and he plundered her, but she
 did not succumb.

⁷³ See above, Introduction, pp. 92-93.

⁷⁴ According to Ammianus (XXV,3,3) J. forgot his armour as he was excited by the news that his rear division was being heavily attacked. Libanius (*or.* XVIII,268) says he was without armour because he was overconfident and Zonaras (XIII,13,17) says it was due to the heat of the sun. E. is alone in attributing a suicide wish to J. although Gregory of Nazianzus (*or.* V,13.10-17, ed. Bernardi, pp. 317-9) reports one version of J.'s death in which J. was heard to have said that he was ashamed to bring a defeated army back to Roman territory. See however Bowersock, 1978, 116.

⁷⁵ The name which J. in derision gave to the Christians. Cf. Soz., *h. e.* V,4,5 Thdt., *h. e.* III,8,1, GCS etc. His principal polemical work against Christianity is entitled 'Against the Galilaeans'. E. here tries to turn J.'s mockery on its head by applying J.'s term of opprobrium to himself and his fellow Christians.

⁷⁶ A play on the word 'wheel' (Syriac: *gyg!* ܓܝܓܐ) which is close to *glyly'* (ܓܠܝܠܝܐ: Galilaeans).

⁷⁷ I.e. Antioch-on-the-Orontes. On J.'s relation with the city see above, pp. 44-54.

She pulled down his altars⁷⁸ and he was moved to anger.

Because he lacerated a member of her,⁷⁹ he proved her fortitude,
cunningly he kept silence so that he would not extol her triumph.⁸⁰

RESPONSE: Praise to him whose Truth refutes the liars.

- 2 For in her one member he had proved (all) her members,
that all of them were prepared to receive their crowns,
and when he saw that force had not subdued the faithful
he clothed himself in enticement and came near to them.
His rennet he put into her milk, he purified her without realising it,
her own he left with her, his own he drew to himself.
- 3 He indeed saw his kindred in that relative
who while alive swarmed and was destroyed by worms.⁸¹
In that worm of this world he saw the one of the world to come.⁸²
The Just one broke his arm through the worms
and he set out without an arm in order to make known that in the
battle
he would be cut down without victory, he would be broken without
triumph.
- 4 He was his blood and his flesh; in him was prefigured his whole self,
and with the one visible name both of them were imprinted
just as they were possessed by the one secret demon.
His kinsman preached about him through his worms,
in his half he saw himself, what was prepared for him,
in his dying he saw his own death, in his worm, his own torment.
- 5 Error played on her harp and captivated them -
Ahab with counsels, this one with promises;
the prophets of the Temple of Baal, the possessed of the Temple of
falsehood
- through them all she played this one song;
(enticing) Ahab to go up, this (Julian) to go down so he set out,
Ahab went up and fell,⁸³ this one came down and was wounded.

⁷⁸ E. here seems to admit a direct involvement by the Church at Antioch in the destruction of the temple of Apollo at Daphne. See above pp. 50-52.

⁷⁹ I. e. The confessor Theodorus who was tortured with reluctance by the Prefect Salutius. See above p. 50.

⁸⁰ J. was warned by Salutius that persecution would only bring glory to the Christians and shame upon himself. Cf. Ruf., *h. e.* I,36, PL 21.504.

⁸¹ I. e. Count Julian. Cf. Chrys., *de S. Babyla* XVII/92, PG 50.559, trans. *supra*, p. 68.

⁸² Cf. Mark IX, 48.

⁸³ Cf. I Kings XXII, 5-23. Four hundred prophets predicted victory when Ahab, the King of Israel, prepared for war against Ramoth in Gilead and only one, Michiah, the son of Imla spoke against it. Ahab followed the majority and was duly defeated and killed. The O.T. does not identify the false prophets as those of Baal. They were in fact prophets

- 6 Who has multiplied altars like this!
 Who has honoured every demon like this!
 Who has appeased all the devils like this!
 He moved to anger he who is one alone, and so he was broken;
 through him was convicted the whole party of the Left
 because it is a power which is unable to aid its worshippers.
- 7 The best of the enchanterers, the most skilled of the Chaldaeans,
 the ingenious sons of error, (these) he chose for himself so it would
 not happen
 that perchance, being ignorant, they might miss (the truth) and not
 understand.
 They laboured during every day, in all things,
 they dived down and groped for the inmost recesses of secret things,
 and when they seemed to have apprehended, they found ignominy.⁸⁴
- 8 For just is he who measured out to Saul through his own measure:
 because he asked the necromancer, he grieved him through the
 necromancer,
 because he listened to him, he heard from him a whisper which
 grieved the heart.⁸⁵
 This one who walked again in his footsteps,
 in that he loved the Chaldaeans, (God) surrendered to the
 Chaldaeans.
 He worshipped the sun and he fell before the devotees of the sun.⁸⁶
- 9 Because he renounced God who is never divided,
 (God) delivered him to Satan who is never at one.
 The erring one went astray and went down to ravage those who were
 in error;
 He worshipped the sun and it turned round and insulted him,
 because he had set out to kill its worshippers and attendants.
 This is the party of Satan which is totally deceitful and divided.

of Israel inspired by God to give the wrong message. E. here probably follows a tradition of exegesis which places the blame for Ahab's death on the prophets of Baal.

⁸⁴ On J.'s theurgist friends who accompanied him on the expedition see above, Introduction, p. 90.

⁸⁵ Cf. I Samuel, XXVIII.

⁸⁶ J. was a devotee of the Sun God through his participation in the cult of Cybele and his familiarity with the *Chaldaean Oracles*. Cf. *ELF* 28, 382B, p. 34, 11-14, idem, *Hymn to King Helios* (or. IV), *passim*, esp. 130B/C, idem, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (or. V = VIII, ed. Rochefort) and Amm. XXII, 9, 5. See also discussion in Mau, 1907, 54-67 and 102-107, Turcan, 1975, 118-125 and Foussard, 1978, 205-7. The Persians honoured the sun because they were Zoroastrians and the Iranian god Mitra was a sun god. In Roman and Christian Syriac sources, the worship of the sun was the hallmark of the Persian religion. Cf. Proc., *pers.* I, 3, 21 and *Martyrium Beati Simeonis Bar Sabba'e* 17, ed. cit. (*supra* n. 53), col. 743.

- 10 For if he set out by the power of the sun to conquer those who for a long time had been making offerings to the sun, then he was convicting himself. He made libations to the Sun and was rebuked through the Zodiac signs without realising it. For if he learned from them that he would set out and conquer why did he not understand that he would set out and be overcome.
- 11 If then he set out threateningly because he honoured the sun, then it escaped his notice that there it is particularly revered. And since, moreover, the home of the Chaldaeans is in Babel, was not he, as a foreigner, arrogant? If he was proud of the error which befell him, then the inhabitants who were before him are exceedingly proud of it!
- 12 Again - if he had found out and learned that he would go out and conquer those who were worthily making offerings to the sun! - then he destroyed his own party, since he also worshipped the sun. He brought reproach on the Sun without realising it - for if the sun abused those who had been diligent from ages past then it showed that it is an abuser and he honoured it in vain.
- 13 With the parties of the sons of the Evil One who never agree, their root is divided against itself. For when both kings gave heed to the Zodiac signs⁸⁷ the erring ones destroyed their own argument in that when the one of them learned that he would conquer, the other of them also was informed that he would triumph!
- 14 If both he and they were worshippers of the Sun, if both he and they were observers of destiny, if both he and they made request of an oracle, then is the Evil One divided against himself. Their teaching is accursed deceiving those who teach it, their doctrine is mad proving false for its preachers.
- 15 For that king's son, a sea of tranquillity,⁸⁸ was not exhausted and never proclaimed that he would conquer, because he knew that the intention of the Most High is hidden. His crown he committed to him who knows all and even if he did not conquer or triumph, yet he did conquer and triumph greatly

⁸⁷ I. e. if both J. and Shapur had consulted the oracles prior to their going to war and if the signs were favourable to both, then the Evil one who had charge of such nefarious skills as augury must have lied to one of them. On J. being advised by his pagan-philosopher friends not to abandon the campaign see above, Introduction, p. 90.

⁸⁸ I. e. Constantius, son of Constantine.

- because for forty years his prayer preserved his kingdom.⁸⁹
- 16 He was a cedar who at his time quietly bowed
and fell upon his bed and, at rest, he died in peace.⁹⁰
And there grew and came up from their sweet root
a young plant of paganism which seemed
to be long (and) wearying mountains with its shade.
In a night it sprung forth and in a night it shrivelled.
- 17 And instead of (on) Jonah, the sun beat on the heads
of the accursed members of his party;⁹¹ the discriminating sun
which refreshed the faithful and punished unbelievers.
For if Jonah suffered because he stood
against those who were penitent, how much more would be afflicted
anyone who contends with the holy ones.
- 18 At that time terrible events were stirred up to reprove (men);
(God) proclaimed the truth to souls in the world,
in that cities were overthrown, to the reproach of paganism.⁹²
Jerusalem condemned particularly
the accursed and the crucifiers who presumptuously threatened and
even entered
in order to rebuild the desolation which they had caused by their
sins.⁹³
- 19 Fools and senseless, they made it desolate while it was built
and now that it is desolate they threaten to rebuild it.
When it was established, they pulled it down, and when it was
desolate they loved it.
Jerusalem trembled when she saw
that her destroyers again entered her and disturbed her tranquillity.
She complained of them to the Most High and she was heard.

⁸⁹ Constantius was proclaimed Caesar in 324 and Augustus in 337 and died in 361. The forty years here mentioned takes into account the fact that he was at court from 321 onwards (cf. *PLRE*, i, 226 and Barnes, 1982, 85-86). Socrates (*h. e.* II, 47, 5-6) gives a figure of 38 years, 13 of which he was his father's colleague and 25 years as sole emperor. Libanius (*or.* XVII, 8) also reckoned his reign lasted forty years.

⁹⁰ One can hardly say that he died in peace as the empire was on the verge of civil war and he was marching to meet J. when he caught his fatal illness. See above, p. 3.

⁹¹ Cf. Jonah IV, 8. On the plight of the retreating Roman army see above, Introduction, pp. 92-94.

⁹² A list of 24 cities in Palestine damaged by earthquake in 363 is given in a Syriac letter attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem (v. 11, cf. Brock, 1977, 276). See also *Chronicon anonymum ad annum 724 pertinens*, CSCO 3, p. 133, 18-21.

⁹³ On J.'s attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, see above, Introduction, pp. 100-101.

- 20 He ordered the winds and they blew, he beckoned earthquakes
and they came,
lightning and it caused turmoil, the air and it became dark,
walls and they were overthrown, gates and they opened themselves;
fire came forth and consumed the scribes
who had read in Daniel that it would be desolate for ever;⁹⁴
and because they had read but did not learn, they were violently
smitten and then they learned!
- 21 They scattered her through the Humble One,⁹⁵ who had gathered
together her chicks,
and they hoped that the folly of the soothsayers would gather her.
They overthrew her through the True One and supported her through
the waverers,
and they wanted to rebuild her again.
They overthrew his great altar at the killing of the Holy One
and thought that the builder of (pagan) altars would re-establish it.
- 22 They broke her (i. e. Jerusalem) through the wood of the Living
Architect⁹⁶
and they supported her through the broken reed of paganism;
they made her sad through Zachariah who has rejoiced her (by)
'Behold your King'⁹⁷
they (tried to) make her happy through the divination of the mad
man;
they proclaimed to her: "Behold, there comes one possessed who
will rebuild you,
he will enter and make sacrifices in you, he will pour libations in
you to his demons."
- 23 Daniel decreed about Jerusalem and determined,
'She will not again be rebuilt' and Zion believed him.⁹⁸
They bewailed themselves and wept, he had cut off and cast away
their hope.
Cana, through her wine, brought consolation⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Cf. Daniel IX, 26-27. Whereas Daniel hopes for a time of restoration beyond destruction, E. only focuses on the certainty and the apparent endlessness of the desolation. On the fire and the earthquake which put an end to the rebuilding work see above, Introduction, p. 101. See also Griffith, 1987, 250-251 and 258-260.

⁹⁵ I. e. Jesus. Cf. Matthew XXI, 5 citing Zachariah IX, 9.

⁹⁶ I. e. The Cross of Christ.

⁹⁷ See above n. 95.

⁹⁸ Strictly speaking Zion is the name of the Temple Mount and Jerusalem, the City of David but the two are used synonymously in the Biblical tradition. See n. 94 above for the reference to Daniel.

⁹⁹ Cf. John II, 1-11. The miracle of the wine at Cana is here seen as the replacement of the old dispensation by a new and better one.

to the two mourners¹⁰⁰ and gave them advice,
 "Do not reject the recompenses of the Good One through your
 mourning."

- 24 "For now you are at rest and have peace and are delivered
 from the possessed and the society of demoniacs.
 They are in confusion and are raving and have crucified him who
 gives life to all,
 always they have torn both of you in pieces.
 They have killed the prophets in you, they have multiplied idols in
 you,
 through the image with four faces,¹⁰¹ they have put to shame your
 face.
- 25 "Better for you than such a cultivated land of heathenism,
 is devastation without sins and desolation without oracles.
 Bethlehem and Bethany, both are surety for (you) both
 that in the place of that people who were destroyed,
 (men) will come from all peoples with praising
 in order to see in your laps the grave and Golgotha."¹⁰²
- 26 Who will again have faith in fate and the horoscope,
 who will again give credence to diviners and soothsayers,
 who will again go astray through augurs and Zodiac signs?
 - for behold, they have all been unfaithful in everything
 and so as not to (have to) convince each one of those in error
 individually, the Just One
 has broken that one (who went astray, so that through him) they
 (that had erred) might learn.

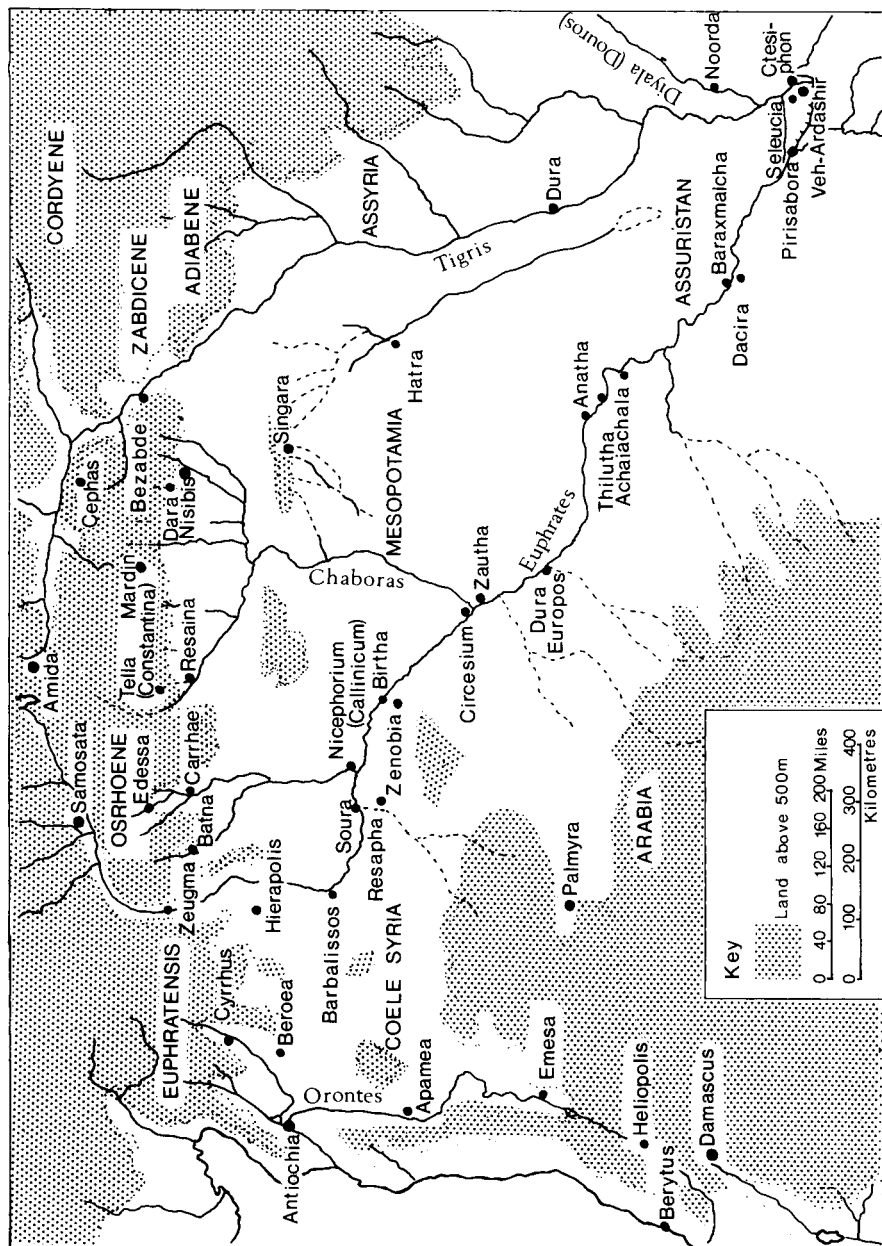
¹⁰⁰ I. e. Jerusalem and Zion.

¹⁰¹ The 'hateful sight of the hateful idol of four faces of the Hittites' is condemned by E. in *HFid.* 87,4, CSCO 154, p. 268, 3-4. See also idem, *SFid.* III,357, CSCO 212, p. 30,19 where the context is distinctly anti-Jewish. Manasses, King of Judah who was unsurpassed for his wickedness placed, according to a variant reading in the Syriac version (i.e. Peshitta) of II Chronicles XXXIII, 7, an image of the idol of four faces in the Temple. E. also calls the Teraphim, illicit household gods, of Micah (cf. Judges, XVII,5) 'the idol with four faces' (*In Script. serm. exegetici, Ephraem Syri Opera*, II, Rome 1740, p. 384B). Cf. Euringer, 1919, 39, n. 1 and Landersdorfer, 1918, 4-8 and 25, see esp. p. 4 where this stanza is discussed.) The term 'four-faced' (Gk. τετραπρόσωπος) also has important significance in Manichaeism. Cf. Lieu, 1983, 200. It is not uninteresting to note that a four-faced idol, probably of Marduk (dated around 1700 BC) was found at ancient Neribum (modern Ischaly) in 1929 and is now in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Cf. Jacobsen, 1978, 166. I owe this last reference to Dr. Ylva Vramming of the University of Lund.

¹⁰² Allusion to the birth of Christ at Bethlehem (Matthew, II,1 ff.) and the raising of Lazarus at Bethany (John XI,1ff.)

Completed are five hymns¹⁰³
against Julian the King,
the Apostate.

¹⁰³ Only four hymns against Julian are extant in the manuscript (BL add. MS 14 571) but they follow the *Eccl.* and the scribe, Julian of Edessa, might have included the preceding work in his enumeration. However, there are doubts concerning the authenticity of the *Eccl.* See esp. Griffith, 1987, 241-242.



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- AMS* *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ed. P. Bedjan, 7 vols. (Paris and Leipzig, 1890-1897).
- Art. pass.* *Artemii passio* ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, V, (Berlin, 1988) pp. 185-245, see also partial edition by J. Bidez in his *GCS* edn. of Philostorgius (*infra*).
- Aug., *c. litt. Petil.*
Augustinus, *contra litteras Petiliani*, ed. M. Petchenig, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 52 (Vienna, 1909). Eng. trans. by J. R. King in *NPNF*, 1st ser., IV, pp. 519-691.
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- Aur. Vict., *lib. de caes.*
Aurelius Victor, *liber de caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr (Leipzig, 1911).
- [Aur. Vict.], *epit. de caes.*
[Idem], *epitome de caesaribus*, ed. Pichlmayr in *ibid.*, pp. 133-76.
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Chron. Pasch.

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_____, *ad viduam juniorem*, PG 48.601-610. Eng. trans. by W. R. W. Stephens in NPNF, 1st ser., 1890, pp. 119-28.

_____, *de hierom. Babyla*

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_____, *de S. Babyla*

Idem, *de sancto Babyla contra Julianum et Gentiles*, PG 50.533-79. Eng. trans. of XIV/75-XIX/109 by M. Morgan, *supra*, pp. 59-79, of the whole discourse by M. Shatkin in *Saint John Chrysostom Apologist.*, Fathers of the Church, Vol. 73 (Washington, D. C.1984) pp. 75-152.

_____, *Jud. et gent.*

Idem, *contra Judaeos et gentiles quod Christus sit deus*, PG 48.813-838. Eng. trans. P. W. Harkins, in *John Chrysostom Apologist.*, etc., 187-262.

_____, *pan. Juv.*

Idem, *In SS. Martyres Juveninum et Maximinum*, (BHG 975) PG 50.571-8.

_____, *quod nemo laeditur nisi a seipso*, PG 52.459-80.

- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, (Berlin, 1863 ff.).
- CJ* *Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Kreuger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Vol. 2 (Berlin, 1929).
- CPG* *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard (Turnhout, 1974 ff., 4 vols. to date).
- CSCO* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, Louvain etc., 1903ff.).
- CSHB* *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 49 vols. (Bonn, 1828-78).
- CT* *Codex Theodosianus*, edd. T. Mommsen and E. Meyer, (Berlin, 1905) Eng. trans. Clyde Pharr *et al.*, *The Theodosian Code*, Princeton 1952.
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- E.(in notes only)
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- ELF* *Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani Epistulae Leges Poematia Fragmenta Varia*, ed. J. Bidez and F. Cumont (Paris and Oxford, 1922) Eng. trans. of the letters by W. C. Wright, LCL, Julian, iii, 1924.
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